

Ireland vol 18

L E T T E R S

CONCERNING THE

TRADE AND MANUFACTURES

OF

I R E L A N D.

11 June 1785



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L E T T E R S

CONCERNING THE

TRADE AND MANUFACTURES

OF

I R E L A N D,

PRINCIPALLY SO FAR AS THE SAME RELATE TO THE
MAKING IRON IN THIS KINGDOM,

AND THE MANUFACTURE AND EXPORT OF

I R O N W A R E S,

IN WHICH

CERTAIN FACTS AND ARGUMENTS

SET OUT BY

L O R D S H E F F I E L D

IN HIS

Observations on the Trade and Present State
of Ireland are examined.

By SIR LUCIUS O'BRIEN, BART.

Non Hostem Inamicarum Castra
Argivum, spes vestras, uritis.

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FOR S. BLADON, PATER-NOSTER-ROW.

M DCC LXXXV.



TO the following LETTERS the Publisher has subjoined the RESOLUTIONS of the COMMONS relative to the adjustment of the COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE between GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, as amended by the LORDS; likewise an authentic copy of the IRISH COMMERCIAL BILL, grounded on the above RESOLUTIONS, brought in by Mr PITT, and read a first time in the House of Commons on Tuesday, August 2, 1785; which, as forming the subject matter of Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN's arguments in his letter, he trusts they will be considered as a proper addenda.

L E T T E R

F R O M

Mr. William Gibbons, Merchant,

T O

SIR LUCIUS O'BRIEN, BART.

Bristol, June 11th, 1785.

SIR LUCIUS O'BRIEN,

I HAVE no doubt but it remains on your memory what passed between us in 1778, when, on a free trade to the Colonies being opened to Ireland, I had the honour of negotiating for the iron trade on the part of Great Britain, with you on the part of Ireland.

B

We

We *then*, as *now*, wished nothing but *equality*, which was the basis of our proposals to you ; and I have a pleasure in the recollection of what you was pleased to say on that head, viz. “ That you was honour-
“ ably treated by the iron trade of Eng-
“ land.”

Left, from something in the public prints, a contrary impression should be made on your side the water, respecting the conduct of the iron trade on the present important treaty negotiating between the two kingdoms, I take the liberty, on public grounds, to write you this letter, and declare to you, that the same liberal opinion still rules the trade. — They wish for nothing but equality, without asking any compensation for the local advantages of Ireland, which she has a right to use without restraint.

We

We wish equal duties on the import of the bar, or a continuation of the equalizing duty to those countries it was enacted for in 1778, or such a bounty on the export of our wares as shall equalize us if neither of the two former proposals could be agreed on. Our Administration *cannot*, we presume, promise for *some*, and *will* not for any one of the three. On this account we have carried our petitions into the House of Commons, praying relief, and shall do the same into the House of Lords; and on no other grounds have we moved on the present occasion.

Our wish is, that the most friendly impressions, each of the other, should remain on the minds of the two countries, whose welfare and interest, “*se sua bona norint*” is perfectly indivisible.

[4]

I make no apology for this intrusion,
thinking these Declarations due to the li-
berality of our intentions.

I am,

With great respect,

Your most humble servant,

W. GIBBONS.

Dublin,

Dublin, June 29th, 1785.

S I R,

I AM favoured with your letter from Bristol of the 11th instant, which I can the more readily answer, as not only the substance, but the particular expressions thereof, were communicated some months ago to the public in a pamphlet of Lord Sheffield's on the trade of Ireland.*

And as from this circumstance, as well as others, his Lordship appears to have acted, in some degree, in consort with those gentlemen who have presented the petitions to Parliament, to which your letter refers; you will allow me occasionally to advert to that publication.

* Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and Present State of Ireland, by John, Lord Sheffield, Dublin Edition, page 225, &c.

I must,

I must, however, first express the pleasure I feel in again acknowledging, that so far as I was connected with the negotiations of 1778, I thought myself honourably treated by the gentlemen concerned for the iron trade of England ; not that I was ignorant at that time, that of the iron consumed in Britain, and exported from thence, one third-part was made from the ore at home, and which ought therefore to have been taken into consideration, if the object of that day had been to establish a rule of perfect equality between these two kingdoms.

Neither was I uninformed the heavy articles of iron ware, such as rod iron, hoops, and nails, &c. were the only ones which Ireland could have any hope of exporting under the regulations of that day, and that in these a ton of rod iron, or of hoops, required little more than 21 cwt. of
bar

bar iron, nor a ton of nails more than 24 or 25 cwt. and consequently that 30 cwt. the average then struck for every such ton of manufactured iron, was by no means a just equivalent.

I did then conceive, as I confess I do now, that there was no law * which prevented Britain from drawing back all the import duty on bar iron, (except the old subsidy) when she should export the same to her settlements in Africa, and therefore I saw no reason (founded on equality) why Ireland should be bound to pay 2l. 10s. on the export of every ton of the same sort of iron to the same market.

I know too, how much less the distance was from the Baltic to London and the

* I have since sought for such law without success; if I am mistaken, however, I am very ready to acknowledge my error, not that it is at this day in any degree material, for Britain now allows the free exportation of bar iron to America, and to all her own plantations.

eastern coasts of England, than to Dublin and the greater part of Ireland, and that the English bringing their iron from Petersburg as ballast for their naval stores *, the expence of carriage by these means was so greatly reduced, that the Irish merchants found it their interest to import their Russia iron circuitously through London, rather than directly, though the former way was loaded with double freight, commission and insurance,

Neither was I inattentive to the clause inserted by the iron agents in the English act of parliament, (as a conditional precedent) whereby Ireland is bound for ever to the specific payment of the larger duties therein mentioned, so long as she shall be permitted to enjoy this branch of the Colony trade, while England was left at liberty to alter her rates as best might suit

* For this see p.

her own convenience ; and accordingly she has since allowed all duty (except about 3s. 6d. per ton) to be drawn back on bar iron exported, not only to her own Colonies, but to the Free States of America, without taking any notice, as I recollect, of her agreement with Ireland ; and from that period she has been at liberty to send out her own iron, wrought or unwrought, to any part of the world, free from all duty whatsoever, and all foreign bar iron subject only to this trifle ; while Ireland, under the act of last Session of her Parliament, was prohibited from sending to the British Colonies even her own bar iron at less than 2l. 10s. or that iron manufactured at less than 3l. 3s. 11d. per ton. And with respect to foreign bar iron, (whenever Ireland might send it) the direct trade of Britain, thus disincumbered, could have little reason to fear any competition from a country, thus taking the commodity

immediately from herself, and exporting it circuitously with so many additional charges.

When, therefore, I expressed myself *satisfied*, it will hardly be imagined I referred much to those estimates *, which our Author styles the average or par of duties, and which he is pleased to say, were then deemed fair between the two countries, and were made out to avoid a variety of calculations on different articles: Perhaps, whoever considers them in that light *only*, may not be inclined to think that they are quite so just or equal.

But the general consideration of that time was, whether the trade of the British Colonies should be opened to Ireland. I was then convinced, as I now am, that with respect to the exportation of manu-

* Observations on Ireland, p. 221, 222, 223.

factures made of foreign iron, Ireland never can, by possibility, become a successful rival to Great Britain in that trade; and, therefore, so far as I was consulted in that negotiation, I felt no difficulty in conceding to the terms proposed on behalf of the British iron manufactures, by those respectable gentlemen who promised, in return, to assist in removing some part, at least, "of those hurtful restrictions upon
 " trade, of which Lord Sheffield says Ire-
 " land had in truth infinitely more cause
 " for complaint, and by which she had
 " been infinitely more oppressed than A-
 " merica, and under which she had never-
 " theless for many years quietly acqui-
 " esced." * And this enlargement was be-
 come, in my apprehension, indispensibly ne-
 cessary to the security of every part of the
 empire at that critical moment, when
 America was all in arms, when General

* Observations on Ireland, p. 369.

Burgoyne and his whole army had, but a little before, been obliged to surrender themselves prisoners, when France had just then compelled our Sovereign to declare war against her, and when domestic distress had rendered the situation of Ireland no longer tolerable.

At that time, as at the present, unreasonable jealousies had arisen against Ireland; as many petitions against *any* enlargement in the trade of Ireland had been presented to Parliament, and had matters been permitted to go on as they have since done, we should then too have had a chamber of manufacturers, who might possibly have held the refusal of every thing to Ireland as the common bond of their association, and their friends might have composed a party embarrassing at least, if not too strong for the Minister.—The clause, therefore, relative to the iron trade, which was supposed

posed necessary to give Britain security in her dependencies, and sufficient to quiet all uneasiness in the mind of the iron manufacturers, was agreed to. The cause of Ireland, in return, received liberal support from Lord Baggot, Mr. Burke, then member for Bristol, Mr. Coomb, and many other respectable gentlemen; and I think all engaged in that negociation had a right to say they had been honourably treated.

Lord North (if he may not think it necessary to affect forgetfulness of *every thing* that happened at that period) will perhaps acknowledge, that to this concession he was indebted for his success upon that occasion.

Ireland too had reason to say, upon the whole, she had been honourably treated, since the first breach in the monopolizing system of the Colonies, and the first liberal enlargement

enlargement of the trade and manufactures of Ireland that had been made since the year 1660, was then made; and though some gentlemen may arrogate to themselves much merit for having affected to force forward a part of this business, when they knew it was impracticable, and for having offered their assistance, when they knew it was unnecessary, yet I must be permitted to say, that the principal, and all the material parts of the commercial liberty now enjoyed by Ireland, were, in substance, conceded to her in 1778.

On the 11th of April, 1778, the British House of Commons came to resolutions, That it was proper and just, 1st. That the several articles, the growth or produce of the British Plantations in the West-Indies, Africa, or America, should be imported directly to Ireland.

2dly. That all goods, wares, and merchandizes, the produce or manufacture of Ireland, or of Great-Britain, legally imported into Ireland, or foreign certificate goods, legally imported, might be exported from Ireland to the British Plantations.

3dly. That all restraints by British acts on the glass trade, so far as related to Ireland, should be taken off.

4thly. That all restraints by British acts on the importation into Britain of Irish spun cotton, should be taken off.

5thly. That all restrictions by British acts on the importation of Irish sail cloth, should be done away.

The 2d, 3d, and 4th of these then passed into laws, the 5th, being grounded on a mistake, was dropped by consent. And some difficulty

difficulty arising in the detail of the first, which it was found necessary to regulate by concomitant acts of the two Parliaments, and to accompany with tedious Custom-House calculations:—On account of this detail only, this was by common consent deferred, the British House of Commons, however, having previously, in some degree, pledged itself to the measure; not only by agreeing unanimously to the principle in the resolution, and by ordering in the bill, but afterwards, on the 6th of May, on debate, in which almost every member of leading abilities in the House delivered his opinion in favour of opening this branch of Irish trade; and by a division, on which the numbers stood thus:

For the bill	—	126
Against it	—	77
Majority	—	49

And

And the Minister having promised for himself and his friends to bring it forward, and so far as they were able to carry it through as soon as ever the Parliaments of the two kingdoms should be sitting at the same time. The Irish Parliament not meeting the next year, nothing could be done; and yet those who were not ignorant of this cause abused the Minister as if in fault. But the year after, as soon as the Houses met, Lord North brought forward the remainder of this subject which had been postponed, and agreeable to his regulation in 1778, compleated the system of the Colony trade.

And as evidence that the whole of this business was really adjusted in 1778—it may be sufficient to add, that though sixty petitions were at that time presented to the English House of Commons against these enlargements of the Irish trade; yet every

set of these petitioners, their agents or friends, having been separately negotiated with, and satisfied of the propriety and expediency of what was desired, the House, on the 22d of May, 1778, was informed, that the petitioners declined being further heard, and in consequence thereof no new petition was presented, nor further objection made to the remainder of these measures in 1780, when they were concluded, and when Ireland had the support of the friends of the iron trade—and therefore I must say, that Ireland was honourably treated.

The event has fully justified my opinion ; years have since elapsed, and we may refer to experience. The whole export of Ireland in iron and iron manufactures, under their various denominations, has been (and probably ever will continue to be) an object too minute for national observation, if
the

the present alarm had not swelled it into some degree of significance,

Lord Sheffield has given an account of it for the years 1781, 1782, and 1783.—The medium value thereof, including as well those affected as those not affected, by regulations of 1778, has amounted only to 506l. 14s. 3d. And the imports of Ireland in iron and iron manufactures from Great-Britain alone, exceed 110,000l. every year. The last of these three years of exportation appearing the most considerable, I sent for the particulars thereof to our Custom-house, resolving to subject every part thereof to the strict examen of his Lordship's observations; I found him stating from those concerned in the iron trade, that “Ireland
“ paying 10s. only where Britain pays 56s.
“ she *must* undersell the latter, not only in
“ America, but in Portugal, which takes
“ most iron hoops, and so materially in

“ heavy iron wares, that she *must* very
 “ rapidly supplant Britain in that branch
 “ of trade, unless the export of the manu-
 “ facture be protected by a bounty exceed-
 “ ing the import duty on bar iron, as
 “ 30cwt. thereof will make less than
 “ 22cwt. wrought iron.”

I therefore looked what this mighty ex-
 portation to Portugal might be, because
 here Ireland was in possession of every benefit
 of this export trade she could possibly enjoy,
 and *this* was not a new acquirement under
 the acts of 1778, but was an advantage she
 might avail herself of from time immemo-
 rial. I found that not a single pound had
 been exported to that kingdom:—I enquir-
 ed what had been done in the subsequent
 year, and I received the same answer. I
 could not find that Ireland had ever sent
 thither any manufactures of iron, though
 the export of our native commodities to
 Portugal

Portugal (with which heavy iron wares might have been cheaply sent as ballast) had heretofore been one of the most considerable branches of the Irish trade, till a perhaps too zealous attachment to the Navigation laws of England, and to the interests of her West-India colonies in favour of whose monopoly we lately (but for the first time, by an Irish Act of Parliament) prohibited the importation of the sugars of Brazil ; I say, till this attachment afforded a pretext to the Court of Portugal (in violation of a vast number of treaties repeatedly sworn to by her monarchs, and in which Ireland is expressly named) to seize and sell our accustomed merchandize in her ports, and to declare that Ireland had no right to send any articles into her dominions. And in this degraded and insulted situation Great-Britain has thought fit to leave her sister.

In the mean time Portugal has opened for herself a new market for her wines in Russia, from whence, in return, she may import iron cheaper than any part of these islands can send it to her ; if she imports it in bars *, the labour of converting it into hoops, it is said, will not exceed 20s. a ton ; but Russia will save her even that trouble, since, as we are informed, Englishmen, with English capitals, are there erecting large works for rolling and flitting iron, &c.† To some men, however, one consolation will remain, that Ireland certainly will be excluded from this trade,

As the manufacture of hoops seems pointed out as one of the principal objects for jealousy, allow me from the same accounts to observe, that the entire exportation from Ireland to all the world, of Ironmonger's

* Observations, page 228.

† Observations on Ireland, page 235.

ware (under which title, in our Custom-house returns, hoops are included) amounted but to 64l. I think his Lordship's account states it at 85l. 3s. 9d.

It appears further, that the whole export from Ireland, of iron manufactured and unmanufactured for that year, to the British settlements in the West-Indies, and to Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Newfoundland, did not exceed 44l. It is not necessary for me to state how readily our West-Indies can be supplied with such articles by the Dutch from St. Eustatius, or by the Swedes from the new settlement they have acquired from the French. Heavy iron wares will make excellent ballast for Gottenburgh herrings, and will form an assortment materially interfering with the export of these articles from every part of the Britannic isles. The liberal spirit of the first Irish Propositions, by allowing every part of these three kingdoms

doms to export the produce of the other duty free, wished to send out British manufactures in all her assorted cargoes, intermixed in many instances, no doubt, with her own; the narrow policy of manufacturing monopoly would totally exclude the produce of one, perhaps, in the end, to the ruin of both.

What remains of this general export of 500l. after the deductions I have stated, may be supposed for the greater part to have gone to the independent states in America. And here I find myself forced to take notice of two paragraphs in the publication I have already quoted: * “ One satisfactory
 “ mode, says the author, of Equalization
 “ and Reciprocity will be, by laying du-
 “ ties on exportation of iron manufactures
 “ from Ireland to all parts, equal to the

* Observations on Ireland, page 229.

“ charges with which they go from Bri-
 “ tain ; and this, it is said, would be con-
 “ sonant to the spirit of compact, and in
 “ return for the participation of the Colony
 “ trade.”

And again, “ unless iron manufactures
 “ go to the American States from Ireland,
 “ charged with the same duties and bur-
 “ thens as from Britain, it is obvious, that
 “ Ireland must, in time, have the whole of
 “ this trade ; and unless Britain obtains
 “ this equalization, she submits, not to
 “ present, but to future competition, with-
 “ out the least return.”

To these very extraordinary and unwar-
 ranted doctrines, the first answer of Ireland
 must be direct contradiction ; and therefore,
 however insignificant the object may be in
 point of value, yet, for the sake of the prin-
 ciple, she must assert, that what is here

E

called

called a satisfactory mode of equalization, must so far, by every friend of Ireland, be deemed most unsatisfactory, and by every friend of Justice most unequal. That when the free kingdom of Ireland exports her own manufactures to foreign states, who are inclined to receive them, no power on earth (her own legislature excepted) has a right to interfere in the duties on such exportation. That such an interference is incompatible with all general ideas of liberty, and not consonant to any compact entered into by Ireland; and I must say, not without some warmth of feeling, is inconsistent with the spirit and the letter of that negociation I am supposed to have taken so much part in. And that with respect to this very iron trade to America, our author was pleased to agree with me in sentiment, while he contended against the trade of the American States only, without involving Ireland within the sphere of his hostilities. In his tract

tract of the commerce of the American States * may be found the following very explicit words: “ Ireland laid a charge
 “ upon manufactured iron exported to the
 “ Colonies, which equalized the charge the
 „ British manufactured iron was computed
 “ to carry out with it. It is true, the Ame-
 “ rican States are no longer British Colo-
 “ nies, and therefore Ireland may, without
 “ breach of compact, send her iron manu-
 “ factured there free of duty, and this is
 “ an additional reason for taking off the
 “ duties on exportation; coals, and the
 “ means of manufacturing, however, are
 “ much in favour of England.” And this
 sentiment has been continued through six
 editions, enlarged and corrected. I have
 too high an opinion of his Lordship to think
 it possible he could allude to, and he, I am

* Observations on the Commerce of the American States, by John, Lord Sheffield. Sixth Edition, London, printed for DEBRET, page 21.

sure, has too just an opinion of Ireland to think she could countenance that sort of casuistry which should say, an act might be done because it was not within the letter, though it was clearly within the spirit of a solemn agreement. Let then the spirit and the words of this compact speak for themselves : It is contained in a proviso of the act of the year 1778, * removing certain restrictions, which England, in violation of the Navigation act and of all antecedent usage, and I might say, of right, had imposed on the Irish trade ; it runs thus,

“ + Provided, that nothing herein before
 “ contained shall extend to bar iron, or to
 “ iron slit, rolled, plated, or tinned, nor to
 “ any sort of manufactured iron wares, un-
 “ til a duty 2l. 10s. per ton, on such bar iron,
 “ and also a duty of 3l. 3s. 11d. Irish, per ton,
 “ on such slit, rolled, plated, or tinned

* 18 and 19 Geo. 3. c. 55.

† 12 Car. 2. c. 18.

“ iron,

“ iron, and manufactured iron wares, ex-
 “ ported from Ireland to the British Colo-
 “ nies or Plantations in America, or to
 “ any of the Settlements belonging to
 “ Great Britain on the coast of Africa, shall
 “ be imposed by some act or acts of Par-
 “ liament, to be made in the kingdom of
 “ Ireland; and that then, and in such case,
 “ it shall and may be lawful, from and
 “ after the commencement of, and during
 “ the continuance of such respective duties,
 “ but no longer to export any such iron or
 “ iron wares from the said kingdom of
 “ Ireland, directly to any British Colony
 “ in America or on the coast of Africa, in
 “ any ship or vessel that may lawfully
 “ trade thither, subject to the regulations
 “ therein before mentioned, any thing in
 “ this act or any other act to the contrary
 “ notwithstanding.

“ Provided,

“ Provided, nevertheless, that if any,
 “ bounty or premium shall be granted or
 “ allowed in Ireland on the exportation of
 “ such iron or iron wares from thence to
 “ the said British Colonies or Settlements
 “ in Africa, then the liberty herein before-
 “ mentioned to export such iron and iron,
 “ wares directly from Ireland, shall, during
 “ the continuance of such bounty or pre-
 “ mium cease, and such iron and iron wares,
 “ shall, in all respects, be subject to the
 “ like restrictions and regulations, penalties
 “ and forfeitures, as such goods were and
 “ would be liable to if this act had not been
 “ made.”

Now, is not the whole of the meaning of
 the business reducible to this:—While
 England had the dominion of the Ameri-
 can trade, she had a right to make terms
 with all those she admitted to a participa-
 tion of it ; but when she declared America
 inde-

independent, she had nothing left to make a grant, to which conditions could be annexed. The consideration for such conditions all ceased: and what are the words, "That nothing in this act shall extend to iron, &c. unless such duties are imposed, otherwise the trade to be subject to such restrictions as if that act had never passed." Now, suppose this act had never passed, or that the Irish had not granted the duties so as to entitle themselves to the benefit thereof, how would the trade of Ireland be now affected by the restrictive laws of Charles II.? Ireland has declared they shall not bind her---America has declared they shall not bind her, and Britain, to all intents, has relinquished them with respect to both countries. If I dwell upon this position more than perhaps it may seem to deserve, I do it upon this principle, that it involves consequences much more extensive than at first appear; for if it be founded in justice, and pur-

purchased by a valuable consideration, it goes equally to every commodity we may ever import from or export to America, which were restricted before 1778.

But to return to these very exceptionable paragraphs in the observations, where it is said, that Ireland should tax the export of her manufactures to all parts, in return for the participation of the Colony trade; —to this I answer that Ireland has always paid far more than an adequate compensation for the participation of that trade in which she exports little more than what she always sent, that which the necessities of the West Indies cannot dispense with, and that which she perhaps had much better retain at home for her own starving people, her provisions. There was a time when our noble author thought we did make a return, and did not scruple to speak
out

out his sentiments on that subject. "None,*
 " says he, but the most unthinking can
 " suppose Ireland will continue to give the
 " monopoly of her market to the West
 " India Islands, unless her share of the mo-
 " nopoly of the West India market is pre-
 " served to her;—except linens, Ireland
 " has no trade of consequence but pro-
 " visions."

And this monopoly the West India plan-
 ters, or rather West India proprietors, re-
 siding in Britain, and the merchants, like
 other monopolists, so far abuse, as to oblige
 us (as the Dean of Gloucester has well ob-
 served) to pay 25s. per hundred on the
 spot, for such sugars as we might purchase,
 in the other settlements, for 16s. or even
 12s. per hundred, and where we might also
 purchase them with our manufactures and
 provisions.—This participation too has led

* Observations on America, page 225.

us to impose near 100,000l. a year new taxes on this necessary of life, in aukward imitation of our elder sister, whose superior wealth enables her to bear such burthens.— And this participation, in the year 1780, led us, for the first time, to lay prohibitory duties on the sugars of Brazil, and has thereby contributed to lose us the whole trade of Portugal; though I must say, none of these made a part of the negociation of 1778, nor is a trace of any of them to be found in the proceedings of the British Parliament of that year.

What then shall we say to that other part of this paragraph, in which, endeavouring to call in aid the spirit of a free and generous people, it would represent Britain (without this fancy-formed equality in all parts) as reduced to that state of humiliation, that she must submit to present, or to future competition, without the least
return;

return; that is, if Ireland shall trade with any other country upon earth, she must make a return to England for that trade; if she has any natural advantage, she must make a return, she must not presume to eat even her own potatoes without making a return. On the other hand, Ireland says to these iron legislators, we do not pretend to interfere in your business, take off all duties on the importation of raw iron, if you think it best, and as the noble Lord in one place has advised you, or continue them all on, as he advises you in another, or grant bounties in their place, as he seems to recommend in a third:—We have no claim to interfere in your concerns, we only demand to be left in the enjoyment of those natural rights which the God of nature, and the vigour of our renewed constitution have intitled us to.

And, besides, Ireland thinks, that when her absentees carry 1,500,000*l.* at least,

every year to Britain, she does make a return, even if, in pursuit of those rents, she should be found entering into competition.

But, say the Considerations, without this equalization (or, as I think, I shall demonstrate it ought to be called, without this exclusion) Ireland must, in time, have the whole of this American trade. And this reminds me of a circumstance in our history, so exceedingly apposite, that I hope you will indulge me while I relate it.—Towards the latter end of the reign of King William III. the good people of England became exceedingly jealous of some little industry that appeared in Ireland, and that we should presume to enter into competition, as they said, without making any return; it is true, said they, we have drawn away from thence a great part of the nobility and gentry, and all the money of the country, we have utterly disabled them
from

from contributing in the same proportion that we do to the public revenue; we have annihilated their foreign trade; the productions of their country are consequently cheap, and this cheapness and this limitation of taxes resulting from their impoverished state, may enable them to undersell us in every foreign market. Their lands being depopulated by emigration, they have turned themselves to the breeding sheep, and have ventured to enter into competition with us in the woollen manufacture, the staple trade, the golden mine, the undoubted inheritance of England, handed down to us from our ancestors for 100 generations, but we alone are intitled to a monopoly of this trade, and we are able to supply the wants of the world; “ * The
 “ expediency

* Though the very words here marked are taken, I confess, from the Observations, page 219 and 231, yet whoever will take the trouble of looking into the Journals of Parliament of this time, into Mr. Smith's Memoirs
 of

“ expediency of endeavouring, on the part
 “ of Ireland, to make this a principal ma-
 “ nufacture of that kingdom, and of vying
 “ with a favourite established manufacture
 “ of Great Britain, may be doubted. It
 “ will be difficult to raise the manufacture
 “ in Ireland in competition with that of
 “ Britain; the capital of Ireland may be
 “ otherwise employed to advantage, par-
 “ ticularly in manufacturing leather or
 “ linen ;” and then followed menaces to
 Ireland, in all the language of affected hu-
 mility ; “ but those concerned in this great
 “ manufacture hope, that if their equi-
 “ table desire is refused, and further mea-
 “ sures should be necessary, that the Le-
 “ gislature will moreover protect them by
 “ further regulations which may be sug-
 “ gested. And to this was added, this va-

of Wool, and the Political Writers of that period, though
 they must so far detract from the praise of originality, yet
 they must allow our Author the merit of being an excel-
 lent copyist.

“ pour,

“ pour, equally idle and insincere, and they
 “ declare also, that unless they are protect-
 “ ed by the Legislature, they must desert
 “ the works which have cost millions, and
 “ migrate with their capitals to Ireland;
 “ the loss to the nation they say, it is un-
 “ necessary for them to state.”

Such arguments, supported by some ideas of self interest, were irresistible; the iron hand of power dashed down in a moment that pretty edifice which the feeble industry of Ireland had taken centuries in erecting. But mark now the consequence, the history of a part of which has been transmitted to us by a great statesman:—one Courteen, an Irishman (says Lord Halifax) carried over with him a colony of these ruined Irish manufacturers to Portugal, where he was kindly received by the Conde D'Ereceire, the then prime Minister, and they there established that woollen manufacture which,
 in

in spite of all the efforts of Mr. Methuen, has been continued down to the present time, a perpetual cause for contention with England, and which, if I do not greatly err, will, ere long, put an end to that ancient intercourse and affection which so long has subsisted between Portugal and England. In the mean time the miserable Irish worsted manufacturers, thus deprived of bread, spread themselves over France, Flanders, and Germany, and this Protestant persecution, from a bigotry in trade, like that Popish one, from bigotry in religion, on the revocation of the edict of Nantz, was an instrument in the hand of Providence for scattering industry through nations, who might not otherwise have so easily attained it.—The Irish nation did not recover this blow for near fourscore years; the empire in general was weakened by it, and yet, if we can credit Mr. Smith, the most intelligent writer on this subject *, even Britain

* Memoirs of Wool.

did not thereby receive any proportional advantage.

Is there then any particular occasion, at this time, to encourage the spirit of emigration from Ireland; or is it necessary, from time to time, that she should be depopulated; is it adviseable, that to gratify ill-founded apprehensions, every man who can wield the sledge, or toil over the furnace, should be discontented, and driven away with his little property to work the iron mines of America. It is to no purpose that men say, as yet, you can do us no harm, as yet, you are unacquainted with the mysteries of this trade, but oppression and distress, which have made heroes and philosophers, have also made mechanics and manufacturers, and it is the discontented and the distressed who, at all times, have spread arts and manufactures through the world; and let it not, I pray you, be too

soon forgot, that were it not for those Irishmen, whom domestic oppression had so lately obliged to fly from their native country, and whom subsequent distress had compelled to take up arms against their Prince, the Thirteen States of America would have now been the Thirteen British Colonies, and our Gracious King would have ruled in peace over the noblest empire on the earth.

Every time I touch upon this string, it brings feelingly to my mind that sublime apostrophe of the Father of the Grecian stage :

* Oppression where it springs,
 Puts forth the blade of vengeance and its fruit
 Yields the full harvest of repentant woe ;
 Behold this vengeance, and remember Greece,
 Remember Athens ! Henceforth let not pride,
 Her present rights disdaining, strive to grasp
 Another's, and her treasur'd happiness
 Dash to the ground, such insolent attempts
 Awake the vengeance of the All-ruling Power.

* Æschylus in *Perfas*.

I have wandered from my subject, allow me to return to our author, who says, thus authoritatively, that Ireland, unless restrained, must in time have the whole of the American iron trade.—Let us gratify our opponent with the converse, and suppose the Irish henceforth to be excluded; and let us further allow them to suppose with the Indian, that they are to inherit all the mental, and all the corporeal abilities of those they have so successfully destroyed. Can England expect to enjoy this trade without a rival? by no means; the noble author, and even you, Sir, have pointed out a sufficient number of competitors; “ Russia, Germany, and other
 “ countries,* which have iron without
 “ duty, will undersell us in the manufac-
 “ ture of it, especially as slitting and roll-
 “ ing mills are now erected in Sweden and
 “ Russia. And in Russia, Englishmen,

* Observations on America, page 17.

“ with English capitals *, are erecting large
 “ works for these purposes. As the duty
 “ now stands, the manufacturer of nails,
 “ says our author †, in Russia, might af-
 “ ford to sell them 4l. a ton cheaper than
 “ we can ; Russia makes great quantities
 “ for home consumption, and having now
 “ taken off the duty, may greatly under-
 “ sell us.” And again, “ As the law now
 “ stands, the Russians may import into
 “ Great-Britain, and afterwards export to
 “ the American States, such of their wares
 “ as are made of iron and steel, cheaper
 “ than we can make them ; so, Sir, you,
 “ and the other gentlemen examined with
 “ you before the Council ‡, state, that for-
 “ merly you had a very considerable ex-
 “ port of nails to Lisbon, but that you
 “ were totally deprived thereof by the

* Observations on Ireland, page 235. † Obser-
 vations on America, page 17. ‡ Report of the Com-
 mittee of the Council, page 50.

“ manufactures

“ manufactures of Liege, and other places,
 “ which can furnish them cheaper, and yet
 “ the English nails were from English iron,
 “ that paid no duty *, and were exported
 “ from the port of Bristol, the nearest to
 “ the place of their manufacture.”

Holland and Flanders sell iron wire, I believe, cheaper than any other country ; when Ireland lately attempted a manufacture of that sort, she was obliged to lay on a protecting duty last session of Parliament in favour of this infant trade. It was laid on generally and so continued for a few months ; but in the beginning of the present session that duty was taken off the English wire and continued on the Dutch, and this without any solicitation ; and this I mention as one instance how tenderly Ireland is inclined to treat the manufactures of England, and how ready to rectify her own inadvertencies.

* Observations on America, page 19.

Add to what has been said, “ * that
 “ most parts of North America abound in
 “ iron mines, and that she has more tim-
 “ ber for charcoal, than all the rest of the
 “ world, and probably too, she may have
 “ veins of coal; that her manufacture of
 “ iron† was so great, that in the years
 “ 1768, 1769, and 1770, she exported to
 “ Great-Britain annually,

On a Medium.

“ Bar iron	-	-	2,592 tons
“ Pig ditto	-	-	4,624
“ Cast ditto	-	-	12

“ That the last iron manufacture‡ has
 “ had great success in some parts of Ame-
 “ rica; that the America scythes and
 “ axes§ are better than the British; that
 “ some of their iron possesses the quality of
 “ toughness in a great degree; that only

* Observations on America, page 117.
 180. † Page 14. § Page 15.

† Ditto

“ previous

“ previous to the war, there were very few
 “ forges* for making anchors in America;
 “ that since the commencement of the war,
 “ considerable quantities of steel † have
 “ been made in New-York, New-Jersey,
 “ and Pennsylvania.” And must we be
 compelled to send our hardy sons to perfect
 these foreign manufactures, with all their
 feelings actuated by the sense of unnatural
 and impolitic restraint in their own country ?

It is time to turn our thoughts to a more
 agreeable part of this subject ; I mean the
 actual prosperity of the iron trade in Eng-
 land, and the invigorating prospect of fu-
 ture extention, and in this, there are few
 men rejoice more than I do ; for though
 by birth, by name, by the situation of my
 property, and by principle, I am an Irish-
 man, yet I am proud to say, I have much
 honest Old English blood in my veins, and

* Page 15.

† Page 16

whereve

wherever the real interests of that country are concerned, I feel myself in no inconsiderable degree an Englishman.

In 1778, it was stated, that between 300,000 and 400,000 persons were maintained throughout Britain by the various branches of the iron trade, and I hear it has lately been given in evidence before your House of Lords, that no less a capital was engaged therein than 14,000,000*l.* sterling, 10,000,000*l.* of which was supposed to be the value of the stock in hand, and 4,000,000*l.* the value of the various apparatus by which that stock is worked up or rendered marketable.

A number of very ingenious men have for some years applied their abilities and industry to the various branches of this business, and it has so thriven by their exertions, “ that there is a probability, says the noble
“ writer,

“ writer†, that in a few years England
 “ may be able *fully* to stock the market at
 “ home, or, as he more properly expresses
 “ it in another †, there is a reasonable hope
 “ that enough will be made in Britain to
 “ supply these *kingdoms* with that necessary
 “ article, then the duty on foreign iron
 “ [which, by the bye, is the only matter
 “ now attempted to be set up as a bone of
 “ contention between these two kingdoms]
 “ will cease of course, as it will not answer
 “ to bring in foreign iron when it can be
 “ made at *home* in sufficient quantities and
 “ at as cheap a rate.” And to this pleasing
 hope the quantity of proper coal diffused
 throughout Britain, and daily discovering
 itself in new works, gives additional as-
 surance, the quantity of which consumed is
 so prodigious, that his Lordship tells us,
 one company alone in Shropshire uses 500
 tons of coals daily ; and this advantage, at

* Observations on Ireland, p. 215. † Ditto, page 212.

least, (when he does enter directly into the spirit of this controversy) he has no difficulty in stating very explicitly to be altogether against Ireland. Thus, in talking of our sending iron to America, he says, “coals and the means of manufacturing are however much in favour of England*.” And again, in talking of Irish salt †, he says, the Irish salt is weaker than the English, because it is not so much boiled ‡; “and this is among many articles in which Britain *must always* have an advantage through her greater abundance of coal.”

However, as England has ever had her mines of iron and of coal, as they have been long known, while her manufacturers and

* Observations on America, p. 21. † Observations.

‡ But note, salt on the contrary is weakened by much boiling, and the bay salt is the strongest in the world, because it is not boiled at all, but evaporated by the moderate heat of the atmosphere.

merchants have been distinguished by their intelligence and enterprize, it may be worthy of enquiry what are those master-springs which of late have given such accelerated motion to this vast machine; and among the first of these I shall not scruple to mention the Inland Navigations. This system of navigation (heretofore ill understood) was now formed about the time of his present Majesty's accession, by Mr. Brindley and Mr. Smeaton, and has not many years been brought to perfection, though at this day the English Navigations excel any thing of that sort that can be found in Europe, and these it is that open an easy communication and unexpensive intercourse between all the considerable iron works in England; it is these which bring together iron ores of different kinds, and countries, whose commixture renders the whole of so much easier fusion; they carry up lime stone (another powerful fluid) into the higher

countries in which iron ore and seams of coal abound, but which are generally of a gritty or cold stone nature ; or the ore thus collected they carry to the coals, not indiscriminately to every coal mine, but to those only which are particularly adapted to these kinds of work, by their more readily parting in the operation of coaking with their sulphur and their arsenic, those substances rendering iron brittle, or they carry the coak to the collected ores ; they also supply in the same manner Strowbridge clay* and other refractory earths necessary for the furnaces ; from the melting pots the metal is carried to the forges often situated at a

* An Irishman might here complain of some severity, every difficulty being thrown in the way of his importing these clays for his furnaces under colour of some old act, which prohibits the exportation of Fullers Earth fit for the woollen manufacture, but to which these bear no resemblance ; while on the other hand the Irish freely admit the exportation of these earths which Mr. Wedgwood and other gentlemen use in their Staffordshire manufactures.

great

great distance, and heretofore generally placed where there were considerable falls of water to work the great hammer, (though steam engines, I hear, do now in a great measure remove that necessity;) from the forges the iron must be conveyed to the flitting and rolling mills, or to those seats of the still further improved manufactures of Wolverhampton, Rottherham, Wallfall, Birmingham and Sheffield, from whence they are carried by the same easy conveyance to every domestic market, and to the ports of exportation, Bristol, Hull, and Liverpool, and from thence coastways to the great emporium of London where they are sure of advantages which no part of Ireland can ever possibly attain to, the extensive trade of that metropolis affording constant opportunities of conveying to every market in the world every article that any merchant may wish to send on his own account or that his correspondent may have ordered,
 exactly

exactly in whatever proportion he desires, at reasonable freights, and often times in exchange for other commodities.

The next advantage arises from the general increase of the wealth and elegance of England, which makes her own home markets not only the greatest in the world, but greater than all foreign markets she can ever find put together; and the security she has given herself of that market by protecting duties, especially by those two modern ones, of 5 per cent. each, which have been laid on the produce of the former revenues; and to these, let me add, the advantages she ever enjoys in Ireland which is her best foreign customer; advantages secured to her by the twenty propositions, if they shall be agreed to as they passed the British House of Commons; the 16th of these providing an effectual preference to these commodities in the Irish market over similar

milar articles coming from every other part, and the 11th taking care that similar Irish manufactures shall not be poured into her market for home consumption at a duty less than ten and a half per cent. while such English manufactures are to be exportable from our harbours on exactly the same conditions with our own.

The next advantage arises from the great private capital embarked in this business, which have not only grown up, within *a few years**, almost *from a state of ruin* to its present gigantic size, but has been able, in that time, to lay out millions in works preparative only to the manufacture †; a few years ago, then, the stock must have been comparatively of little value, and the prospect have been uninviting---*the competition of Ireland with all its terrors staring them*

* Observations on Ireland, page 211. † Observations on Ireland, page 231, &c.

in the face. It is not probable, that much heredit ary fortune was introduced, nor have vast funds been drawn from other manufactures, or we should have heard some complaints of this revulsion. It is most likely, that the sums laid out in these vast works have gradually accompanied the success of the manufacture ; if so, I rejoice exceedingly at it, and that ingenious men shall have so much benefited themselves by those labours, which have also benefited their country ; may virtuous industry for ever be so rewarded ! At all events, this progress, in a short time, from ruin to more than princely affluence, has been so rapid, as to exceed every thing that is to be found in the whole history of trade and manufactures, and indicates a prosperity which, in a few more, must compleat whatever of this great work remains still to be accomplished,—in a much shorter time than will probably bring forward even the smallest of all that
mul-

multitude of events, which have been pointed out as necessary before Ireland can, in any degree, become your rival even in her own markets. With materials inexhaustible, with the capital and the experience that are now acquired, with the works that have been erected, and the skilful workmen that have been formed, it will be much easier to add 40 or 50,000 ton to the iron you make every year, than it was to advance it to its present state.

O fortunate nimium sua si bona norint.

Thrice happy men, so likely long to enjoy those benefits with which Providence has vouchsafed to bless your labours ; if you but be guarded against those ill-founded, but tormenting apprehensions, those unbrotherly jealousies, the parents of ill offices, which have been so indefatigably prepared for your minds.——What have you to do with the dirty game of politics, or

I

who

who shall be for one day, perhaps for one whole week, the Minister of England?—The propositions for arranging the trade between Great Britain and Ireland but little extend to your particular business; if they stand, how can you be injured by them? if they are rejected, how can you be benefited? The system between the two kingdoms, so far as relates to you, is not the work of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, to all whose works your newly acquired advocate has declared himself so decided an opponent.—It was the work of his own familiar friend Lord North, assisted by some of your own faithful and intelligent patrons and brethren, and, in some degree, negotiated by a man who may be allowed to say he has good wishes for you. If it was injurious, your advocate, when he was in Parliament, would have altered it, or at least he would have hinted it to you. When he became

became openly a political writer, on this very subject, in his American Observations, he would have apprised you of your situation.—Although I differ in almost every thing that relates to the present question, yet I know and respect too much the noble writer's knowledge and zeal for the interest of England, to think he would neglect his duty if there was real danger.—As there was none, this subject was then suffered to rest, because it was not then known, that the present Minister would bring forward his propositions; or even by that species of wit, which delights in bringing together heterogeneous things, it would be possible to unite this subject with them.

They have been, however, unfortunately united, and the consequence it seems is, that England must either become a tyrant over Ireland, imposing new taxes upon her

trade with foreign nations, or Old England *must* be undone.—It no longer remains doubtful, in our Author's opinion, it is brought to a physical certainty and demonstration, “That unless a tax, an additional tax, shall be laid on this necessary of life (and which the Irish Parliament never will impose), Ireland must very rapidly supplant Britain in her trade, the works which have cost millions must be deserted and go to ruin, the manufacturers must be undone, and then they must go migrate with their capitals to Ireland.” If the writer of this latter paragraph had not taken so much pains, throughout the whole of his work, to prove he was no Irishman, I should have been inclined to consider this as the manufacture of my own country; but I must now presume this to be my own misconception, and that it is only the four millions that

must

must be lost outright, and the ten millions that must migrate to Ireland.

** Venit summa Dies & ineluctabile Tempus
Dardaniæ, fuimus Troes, fuis Ilium & ingens
Gloria Teucrorum, sævus Jupiter omnia Argos†
Transfudit.*

It must be so, Sheffield thou reasonest well.

* Till I met these lines, I must own, I was at a loss to understand our Author's Motto to his Irish Observations; if they had been intended for the benefit of Ireland only, "Spes vestras uritis" was easily enough applicable to our conduct; while you are said to have veins of coal at home, and while men, on that supposition, desire to restrain your iron and other manufactures, you foolishly import 200,000 ton of foreign coal, and thus burn and destroy every hope of supplying yourselves with this necessary of life; but when I found this Pamphlet was calculated for the meridian of England only, I was at a loss to find out who were those hostes, and what these Castra Inimica, till this second quotation from Virgil shewed one that the Irish were these enemies, that Argos was Ireland, and here lay those inimical camps, which our Ascanius would persuade his friends had not been yet sufficiently burned and destroyed.

† Ireland.

And

And yet, without presumption, may I be permitted to examine this reasoning in its parts, and these premises one by one, which are to support this conclusion ; objects seen through a mist are magnified in proportion to their indistinctness ; and I confess, when I observe in every thing I have read upon this subject an affected obscurity, a complication of ideas, and a reiteration of the same arguments, or rather assertions, as it were to make up in apparent number for what they may be deficient in weight, I am desirous, if possible, to dispel this gloom, and to shew things in their natural proportions by the light of unbiaſſed truth, and to prove that there may be competition without injury, and then to hear the liberal voice of England crying out, as we have heard her cry out heretofore, “ Let
 “ Ireland thrive if ſhe can by her own in-
 “ duſtry ; if ſhe ſhould even be my rival,
 “ is ſhe not alſo my ſiſter. The moment
 I can

“ I can find this disposition of mind, I am
 “ satisfied I will fully convince her under-
 “ standing, that no injury can be done her
 “ in the business now under our confide-
 “ ration.”

As I have mentioned, however, an obscurity on this subject in an Author distinguished by his perspicuity on all others, I think it necessary for me here to take notice of the manner in which he has been pleased to treat it. Some times speaking in his own character, at others, in that of the iron manufacturers, and finally assuming the character of Britain herself; “ thinking
 “ she has now a right to complain as an
 “ injured country *;” so that in the greater part of what he had set forth, I am utterly at a loss to distinguish, whether we are to consider it as the allegation of an interested

* Observations on Ireland, page 224.

party,

party, or as the decision of a disinterested and competent judge ; whether as the voice of an individual, or of a great nation, delivering their verdict by this their foreman.

I must also take notice of the artful use which is made of the ambiguous term of iron manufacturers, words, which in one sense are confined to those who prepare the raw iron from the mine ; in another, those who work it up after it has undergone this previous preparation :—Classes of men altogether distinct, and whose views in many instances we must suppose contradictory ; it being the interest of the one set, that all duties on raw iron heretofore imposed in England, should be continued in full force, and that new duties should be imposed in Ireland to the same amount, without which, says our Author *, it cannot be expected

* Observations on Ireland, page 228.

that

that * *any* quantity of iron will be made there; while it is equally that of the other,

K

as

• I cannot say I am quite certain whether our author may not be in jest, when he recommends to Ireland to lay on these larger duties for the *purpose* of encreasing the makers of iron at home; but I am sure it is a matter of *serious* consideration for every maker and manufacturer of iron in Britain how far it is *his* interest that Ireland should return to this trade. For some years she had shewn less inclination to this than almost to any other adventure. Whether in fact that iron cannot be made here as cheap as it can be imported, or that capital is wanting for so extensive an undertaking, or that the facility with which that article is obtained from abroad makes men insensible to the want of it home. But if a duty of 3*l*. is once laid on for the avowed purpose of encouraging the home production, that duty to answer its end must be laid on English as well as foreign iron, and must be encreased upon the manufactured iron of all countries in the same proportion the manufacture now bears to the material. No Irish Member would be base enough to propose it otherwise to an Irish parliament, and the noble author must have meant this; for he never could have recommended to any country a measure which must be ineffectual, and whose only consequence would be to impose an additional burthen; and if this measure should have the proposed effect, Englishmen will reflect how consistent it is with their interest in order to secure this export of 500*l*. (or suppose, if you please, that export encreased twenty-fold) to force the
Irish

as he has clearly shewn in another work, that all duty whatsoever should be taken off this raw material.

Any Irish into this branch of trade for which they shew now so little inclination. The same argument will hold with regard to those bounties in England on the export of their manufactures. If those bounties are to affect Ireland she will grant similar bounties on her exportation, in which case each country will be impoverished to supply the other with what she has herself at home. Or if Ireland by the system shall be prevented from sending to England, she will then counteract the new bounty by a proportionate duty at home; besides, in general it is the principle of your propositions, as expressed in the 15th, to take away all warfare of bounties between the two kingdoms.

If it shall now be made manifestly the interest of Ireland to work her iron mines, and they shall be found practicable, and Irish gentlemen by certain feelings (to which I avow myself not insensible) shall be induced to come forward in this or any other manufacture, capitals may not always be wanting: The very English gentlemen who would now gladly persuade you that Ireland was created only that she might give employment to the manufacturers of Britain, and that she had no natural rights of a free country, would then condescend to come over themselves and carry on those trades for us. Mr. Bolton who appears at the head of all the iron petitions to parliament was in Ireland last year, and would have engaged in such works here if he could have got gentlemen of probity and

Any one who reads the Observations on the Trade of Ireland will easily see how judicious a use is made of the duplicity of this term, to create apprehensions and dangers, which could not otherwise have even the appearance of existence.

And now to the particulars of our Author's arguments apart.

And the first I shall take notice of is, indeed, only by way of insinuation, the writer fearing, I suppose, that the direct assertion thereof, might not stand that test which

fortune among the proprietors to embark with him; and I have now before me a letter from that Mr. Thomas Smith, of Manchester, who, in his evidence before the Lords, has so strangely misrepresented the prices even of those articles of Irish produce in which he deals himself, and who so grossly has vilified the character of every man of whom he has spoken; in which letter he solicits encouragement from the Linen Board of Ireland, and offers to come over here and bring a considerable number of artists with him, and to perfect the cotton manufacture, and also establish an extensive branch in the small ware line.

Lord Shaftesbury has endeavoured to establish as the criterion of truth.—Our Author had stated, that Ireland now makes little bar iron*, and he might safely have gone further, and said she does not make a single pound. He had stated also†, that till she lays on the heavy duty, that is, as he explains it, the duty of 3l. os. 9d. on every ton of foreign iron imported‡, it cannot be expected any quantity of iron will be made there; and he had very truly said, that Ireland will object to this, as charging her consumption heavily and unnecessarily ||.—After which he proposes his succedaneum, which is, “for Ireland to import iron ore
“ from Lancashire and Cumberland, as
“ ballast for § oak-bark; and if pit-coal and

* Observations on Ireland, page 237. † Ditto, p. 228.

‡ Ditto, p. 226. § Ditto, p. 231.

§ It is to be hoped our author has given directions for planting in Lancashire and Cumberland, contiguous to the iron mines and the shore, those vast forests of oak which are for ever henceforth to supply oak bark sufficient to freight such a number of vessels to Ireland as may require at least 10,000 ton annually for their ballast only.

“ peat, or turf, should be wanting in Ire-
 “ land, she might also import her coals
 “ from England, from whence she can have
 “ them much cheaper than they can be
 “ sold in London, where many branches of
 “ the iron manufacture are carried on; and
 “ to this he subjoins, that peat has been
 “ used in England in iron works, although
 “ to no great extent.”

Now is not the necessary inference from
 all this, that if peat or turf can be had in
 Ireland, we shall thereby be enabled to carry
 on this manufacture to sufficient extent, and
 with sufficient profit, even with foreign ore,
 and with this great advantage, which in the
 same page, and upon all occasions, he is so
 good as to bring back to the recollection of
 both kingdoms, that as yet, her manufac-
 turers do not pay *all* the excises that are
 paid in Britain; and then the question re-
 solves itself into this, have the Irish Bog-
 troppers

trotters any turf, for if they have, here is
an infallible nostrum for making all their
fortunes.

Through Ireland I have found it a ge-
neral opinion, with which my own expe-
rience coincides, that where even coals can
be had in under 20s. a ton, it cannot be
prudence in any man to use any other fuel
in large quantities for domestic uses; but I
will, for a moment, that argument arising
from the expence, to consider what, in
other respects, would be the situation of an
Irish company manufacturing bar iron, and
obliged to use the same quantity of fire that
is used by the Shropshire company; he men-
tions and I may venture to assert, if their
fuel should be turf, in a climate such as
Ireland generally is, not all the inhabitants
of your populous city of Bristol, would be
able to cut and save, and draw home that
quantity; nor would all the houses in that
great

great city furnish stores sufficient for its preservation. I have found it in general a matter of some difficulty, and in some seasons impracticable, to provide a sufficiency of good turf, even for one family; but when the quantity must be increased, the ground to be covered with it for drying must be enlarged, and the distance and difficulty of drawing it must be augmented, especially if the present scheme be to carry it all to the harbours on the eastern coasts of Ireland, to meet this ore which is to be imported from Lancashire, &c.

The Shropshire company's consumption of coal is stated, by our Author, at 500 tons daily; we compute a ton of coal equal to 100* keshes of turf, each containing 16 cubical feet, consequently the day's equivalent would amount to 800,000 cubical

$$* 100 \times 16 = 1600 \times 500 = 800,000 \times 365 = 292.000,000.$$

feet.

feet, and the year's equivalent to about 192,000,000 of cubic feet of turf, which would, therefore, require for each such company three good turf stacks, each of them somewhat larger than the greater pyramid of Egypt, which, as I recollect, stands upon eleven acres of ground, and is about four hundred feet high.

In Ireland I remember this whim of making iron with turf was once tried, I believe it was in the year 1755; or 1757, but it was then proved to be a bubble, and the very idea has been ever since laughed at:—
—Our Author's very respectable friends, whose very words he seems, in this instance, to have adopted, though he has not thought it necessary to communicate the whole to the public, yet must have given him very different information.—Mr. Richard Crawskay, Mr. Joseph Stanley, and Mr. Samuel Walker, when examined
before

before the Committee of Council *, declar-
ed very exprefsly, that it was not *possible* to
carry on any iron manufactory with peat
fire only to *any* extent. What ! is it not
even within the limits of poffibility ? How
weighty then the argument to overturn the
right and interefts of Ireland.

And now having pretty well got rid of
our turf, let us examine the other part of
the paragraph, which recommends “smelt-
“ ing Lancashire ore in Ireland with Eng-
“ lish coal, becaufe fuch coal may be had
“ there cheaper than in London, where
“ branches of the iron manufacture are car-
“ ried on in hoops, rods, anchors, bolts,
“ &c.” And here let me exhibit a notable
instance of that equivoque in the word iron
manufactory, which I formerly ftated ; for
as London, from foreign iron, manufactures
hoops and rods, &c. in which the expence
of firing is comparatively trifling, it muft

* Report of the Lords of the Council, page 47.

therefore follow as a necessary consequence, that Ireland, with the same firing imported, can smelt foreign ore, and forge the iron, and have it as cheap as the country in which all these materials are on the spot and grow together.—I would ask the noble Author this direct question, does he believe iron is smelted and forged from these materials only, within the city of London? Does he believe there ever will, or does he think it possible, such can be made there as cheap as foreign iron, with all its subsidies, is now imported into London; and yet this is to be the foundation of the present equalization.

Our Author, in comparing the advantages which Ireland might have over Britain in the exportation of rod iron*, and which he is pleased to state as amounting to between 15l. and 20l. per cent. considers the cost of the Russia bar iron the same in

* Observations on Ireland, page 230.

London and in Dublin, and the charge of manufacturing in both places to be the same, and the difference to arise from the difference of duty only, and then by his calculation, states the cost of a ton of rod iron in Dublin, after having paid the import duty on the material, to amount only to 13l. 3s. from which, if you deduct what he charges for the waste and expence of flitting, being 1l. 10s. the cost of the iron must have been but 11l. 13s. English.— And now let me call upon his Lordship to declare (and I think he owes the explanation to both countries) does he think it possible, with Lancashire or Cumberland ore and English coals, to make such a ton of iron in Ireland for that price.—And if not, why are we misled with such calculations?—I would go further, and call upon him to declare, did he ever hear that one ton of such Russia iron was ever sold in Dublin for what he mentions to be the

London price, deducting the difference of duty?—Or, that ever one ton of Irish made rod iron ever was, or without great loss could be, sold in Dublin for 13l. 3s. English? And if he proves any one of these facts, I will give up the whole controversy. And if he does not, I must repeat it, it was not well done, by such unfounded statements, to excite animosities between these kingdoms.

The next argument runs thus, “ *It
 “ has been generally supposed that Ireland
 “ has great disadvantages in working iron
 “ mines when compared with Great-Bri-
 “ tain, but the reason does not appear un-
 “ less it should arise from want of capital.
 “ In general, it may be observed, that the
 “ private capital of English manufacturers
 “ at present, combats the purse of Ireland
 “ in the hands of a bountiful and liberal

* Observations on Ireland, page 234.

“ Parliament.

“ Parliament. But if Englishmen will em-
 “ ploy their capitals in Russia, why should
 “ they not employ them in Ireland, and
 “ some English capitals are now engaged
 “ in erecting large iron works in Russia.”

And to this is added, in a note referred to
 as the explanation. “ It has been already
 “ observed, that the price of British coals
 “ on the East coast of Ireland, is lower
 “ than in many places where manufactures
 “ of iron are carried on; it is remarkable,
 “ as the latter *affects* to encourage the
 “ spreading of manufactures, such a tax as
 “ that on coals coastways should be adopt-
 “ ed.” You will observe here, as in other
 places, the same contradiction of our Au-
 thor of his own opinions and assertions,
 which I should not dwell upon if it ever oc-
 curred in any instance, where it was not
 for the purpose of doing some injury or
 another to Ireland, or where the latter
 taken up opinion was not the most un-
 founded.

founded. You will observe the same equiv-
 oque on the word manufacture, as if it
 was of any consequence to the present ques-
 tion, what the price of coals might be in
 the Forest of Dean, where the principal
 fuel is charcoal made from wood; though
 I must say, in the neighbourhood of the
 Severn, I remember when I was at Bristol
 Wells, I bought my coals at 6s. 8d. per
 ton, and I was informed, that to the ma-
 nufactories in that neighbourhood, they
 were afforded at 5s. per ton; what is it to
 the present question what coals are at
 Woodstock, where a pair of shoe-buckles
 shall be sold for fifty guineas; state to me
 great smelting works and forges where the
 fuel is all coal, where the business is carry-
 ing on to profit, where the price of coals is
 as dear as that of British coals is on the East
 coast of Ireland, and where the bar iron *
 can be sold for 15 or 16l. a ton, which our

* Observations on Ireland, page 217.

Author states as the present average price, or else we but deceive ourselves and the public; and admitting all these facts, the argument might still be fallacious, as our Author seems purposely to omit making any allowance for carrying those coals to the mountainous parts of the country in which mines are generally found, or for bringing down the ore from mines to our harbours; for his argument here refers to working Irish mines and not to his extraordinary expedient of importing foreign ore. I must observe too on the not uncommon attempt to raise jealousies in the minds of Englishmen by for ever repeating to them the little occasional bounties of the Irish parliament to infant manufactures;—but does he mean to suggest that such bounties will give capital to carry on expensive iron works, or to countervail the fourteen millions we have heard of.

I confess

I confess from the fact he has mentioned, of Englishmen carrying their capitals to Russia, I should have been inclined to have reasoned with myself in a different manner; my first wish probably would have been that my countrymen should keep their money at home for the improvement of their own country—but if that cannot be, if the capital be too large for that purpose, or the desire of gain or of change must carry it abroad, then let my second wish be, that it should be carried to my sister country for her improvement, since her strength is my strength, and since I know from experience it will, in some shape or other, return from thence, together with its profits—this, in my mind, would be better than going to Russia or America, and I should not terrify men so disposed from the attempt, by collecting every ill thing that could be said of Ireland. I omit to make any particular observation on the polite and affectionate manner of
 stating

stating our humble endeavour to supply ourselves with some of the mere necessities of life by the appellation of this affectation of Ireland to extend manufactures.

The next argument is this :—“ As to the
 “ article coals * there is plenty in some
 “ parts of Ireland, and *probably in time* they
 “ may be got at as low a price as in Eng-
 “ land. The iron ore, lime stone, and
 “ coal, will be found in the same neigh-
 “ bourhood, and with the help of steam
 “ engines and navigations, [no country is
 “ better fitted for the latter than Ireland]
 “ iron works may be established wherever
 “ these articles can be found. And again
 “ he says, some kind of coals, † and gene-
 “ rally the worst, answer the purpose of
 “ making coak much better than others ;
 “ there are sorts of coals, which, when

* Observations on Ireland, p. 226, 227.
 page 212.

† Ditto,

“ coaked, are not sufficiently cleansed of
 “ their sulphur and impurities to make a
 “ kind and malleable pig iron fit for the
 “ forges ; *it has not yet appeared whether the*
 “ *Irish coal is proper for making coak.* And
 “ again, the capital improvement of coak
 “ bar iron by Messrs. Wright and Jesson is
 “ now generally practised, and it is this
 “ has much improved the quality and in-
 “ creased the quantity of English iron.”

What a mass of conjecture and of as-
 sertion, of knowledge and of ignorance, of
 probability and of impossibility, and of con-
 tradiction, is here brought together, to shew
 that Ireland must shortly destroy the iron
 trade of England !---May her greatest dan-
 gers never stand supported by better foun-
 dations.

For, first, it does not follow, because coals
 have been found in some parts of Ireland,
 that

that therefore even they are in plenty. It is well known both in Britain and Ireland that there are many collieries that are not worth working, at least to any considerable extent ; either the vein is too thin, as was the case of that one Mr. Bolton examined in the County of Leitrim, or too stoney, or too much embarrassed with culm, or too deep---too much affected with water, or the rocks too hard. I am well acquainted with collieries of this sort on both sides of the river Shannon towards its mouth, where the vein of coal is but about eight or nine inches thick, and yet these have been slowly worked for years, for the benefit of the culm only, and this may be said to be in some degree the case of all the collieries ever opened in Ireland, that excepted, in the Kilkenny mines, (of which hereafter) that the coal produced is in small quantity, and I am confident no other colliery in Ireland ever produced one-twentieth part of what

has been stated to be used by the one company in Shropshire. Though the Drummglass colliery has been open for many years in the most populous and spirited part of Ireland, yet so little and indifferent has been its produce, that English coals are burned within a very few miles of it, and those brought by a long inland carriage.

Again, some collieries are found in mountainous places, difficult of access, and others on inhospitable shores, for the greater part of the year inaccessible; such is the situation of the Ballycastle collieries, where, after the public had laid out large sums in endeavouring to make a harbour, the sea has finally triumphed, the work has been abandoned, and no coals are brought from thence but in the Summer months, and those in small quantities. And exactly similar must be the case with respect to any other veins of coal that may be found in that mountainous

tainous part of the County of Antrim. A convincing proof of these assertions may be drawn, I think, from the conduct of the Irish parliament, and the consequences thereof; coals being a necessary of life, and the bogs in many places nearly cut out, our legislature has been anxious to open collieries, and as encouragement, has given a bounty of 2s. per ton for all Irish coals brought coastways to the capital; but though this bounty has subsisted many years and is perpetual, yet such has been the poverty of all our Irish works, * that the annual amount of this bounty has only been 145l. 6s. 11d. and the greater part of this for malting coals from Kilkenny.

And this deficiency in the quantity of the mineral throughout this kingdom is not confined to coals only, but has been observed in all our mines, of lead, of silver,

* See Young's Tour through Ireland.

of copper, &c. none of which contain the same quantities, nor those vast masses which are to be found in the mines of England; such as the Paris Mountain of copper in Wales, the Duke of Devonshire's lead mine in Derbyshire, the tin mines of Cornwall, worked since the time of the Phœnicians, and the collieries of Newcastle, which have supplied London constantly since about the time of Henry VIII. if I recollect right.

Perhaps it might not be a difficult matter to account physically for this inferiority in the Irish mines, if this was a proper place for philosophical enquiry.

With respect to the Kilkenny collieries, which are more extensive, I believe, even Mr. Bolton, who examined them, will assure the English iron makers that they may rest in the most perfect security; they are an excellent coal for making malt, because
they

they do not smoak, and for that purpose they are carried throughout Ireland, but they neither blaze nor can be coaked, and therefore are unfit for the iron furnace. They only grow red like a mass of heated iron, and are so full of sulphur, that if used in a bed-chamber, the door of which should happen to be shut, the probable consequence would be death to the person sleeping there, of which there have been too many instances, and yet so difficult is it to divest this coal of that sulphur, that the same effect would be produced after the fire had been burning seven or eight hours. In short, I defy our author to produce an instance of one place in Ireland, where such iron founderies have been or are carrying on with Irish pit coal to any material extent.

But, says our author, navigations may do much, and there is no country better fitted for these than Ireland, and sorry I am, I am obliged

obliged to contradict him in this assertion, not that it would be material to the present argument unless he could shew those navigations led to collieries and iron mines; but the fact I fear will be found that there is no country more unfit for these than Ireland; first, because the whole island lies high above the sea, rising suddenly for the most part from the coast, as may be best illustrated by the Dublin canal, whose lowest termination is 60 feet above the level of the sea, and which canal rises from thence 193 feet more in the distance of 17 miles, and this creating a multitude of locks, makes our navigations more tedious in passing, more expensive in keeping up, and more easily put out of repair than any others I believe in Europe. Another circumstance against them arises from the strata through which they pass, which Mr. Young has well described in his Tour through Ireland, where he says, “the circumstance which
“ strikes

“ strikes me as the greatest singularity of
 “ Ireland is the rockyness of the soil;
 “ stone is so general, that I have great rea-
 “ son to believe the whole island is one vast
 “ rock of different strata and kinds of stone
 “ rising out of the sea; in general this ap-
 “ pears in every part of the kingdom. And
 “ this rockyness of the soil is so universal
 “ that it predominates in every sort; one
 “ cannot use with propriety the term, clay
 “ loam, sand, &c. it must be a stony clay,
 “ a stony loam, a gravelling sand, &c.”—
 the consequence of which is, that where-
 ever we have sunk our navigations to any
 considerable depth, we have been obliged to
 work our way with gunpowder. Another
 particularity is in the stratum generally over
 this rock, which is a gravelly loam almost
 as difficult as the stone to cut, and so tena-
 cious, that I well remember Mr. Smeaton’s
 declaring, that if any engineer had told him
 with how little slope we could venture to

N

make

make our banks, he could not believe him till he saw it;—the consequence of all this has been, that the Dublin navigation, or as it is generally called, the Grand Canal, and which is the only work we have of that kind of any considerable extent, or which is in any very great forwardness, though it has the metropolis for its termination, and has been the favourite object of the parliament and of the people for a long time, though it has been near thirty years continually going on, and has cost upwards of 300,000*l.* yet it is not finished so as to be navigable more than thirty miles, nor is any part of it dug more than twenty miles, and when it shall be finished so far as Munster-Even, which I hope it will be in this Summer, there will be on this short space about thirty locks from eight to ten feet fall;—from hence you may judge what time it will take to its final accomplishment; as yet I believe its further course is not even determined on, but

but if it goes directly to Lough Allen, where the report of Mr. Evans, the engineer, (mentioned or alluded to so often in the evidence before the council and parliament of Britain, and by our author) states, that there are iron and coal, I will venture to assert they have not yet worked one third part of the distance between Dublin and that lake, and therefore I shall submit to every impartial person, whether the system which in a few years may probably bring the English foundry to perfection, or this plan of navigation, will be first accomplished,

I would gladly hasten to our Author's particular calculations, if I did not find it necessary to say something again on what is mentioned introductory to those calculations.—It is said in the name of those concerned in the iron trade *, that Ireland must undersell Britain in her commerce

* Observations on Ireland, page 229, 230, 231.

with the American States, and also on the continent of Europe, so materially in heavy iron wares, that she must rapidly supplant Britain in that branch, unless her export is protected by a bounty, which should be *near a third part* more than the duty, as 30 cwt. of the bar will, on *an average*, make less than 22 cwt. of wrought iron; and that Ireland will not observe the spirit of her compact, to which she had agreed when the American States were dependent on Britain; and that the compact was, that both countries should pay similar or equal duties *. And our Author has certainly acted fairly in stating this on heavy iron wares only, and in making his calculations on these articles only, because these are the only ones which Ireland, in her infant state, can be supposed able to make, or which America, in her infant state, and the West Indies, in their infant and de-

* Observations on Ireland, page 219.

pendent state, can be supposed able to purchase. Rod iron, rolled iron, bolts, nails, anchors, and hoops, are necessities of life, or for the package of their manufactures, or for their shipping.—Besides, of the finer sorts, much is rated under different denominations, and subject to higher duties, or are rated, *ad valorem*, as hardware and steel, and therefore do not fall within the compact.—In the still higher manufactures, the price of the material, comparatively speaking, is lost in the value of the workmanship, so that whether the first duty is 10s. or 3l. is totally immaterial; thus, merely to shew by an example how far this can be carried, let us suppose, for a moment, a ton of the pendulum springs of watches could be collected, and that there could be found a market for them, these would be worth half the iron imported into England within the compass of the year.—But the weight of all fine goods is trifling,

trifling, and therefore whoever would make any just and true average on this subject, must have before him the quantities, as well as the quality and prices of the different articles:---without this, he may amuse himself, or delude the public with computations; he may fill his works with Custom-House extracts, and appear to the ignorant a man of deep researches, but by those who understand the matter he will be still thought ignorant. — And if this be the just and only ground of computation (as I am convinced it is), I desire to see how our Author can make out his assertion, that 30 cwt. of bar iron will make less than 22 cwt. of wrought iron, and that the equivalent should be nearly one third more than the import duty; or even, as he elsewhere expresses it*, that in the gross iron wares 25 cwt. of the bar would be an equivalent for 20 cwt. of the wrought, and in the finer kinds 40 or 45 cwt.

* Observations on Ireland, page 225.

And yet even this would be sufficient to prove, that the computation of 1778, was by no means made on an equal principle for Ireland, where not 22 cwt. but barely 20 cwt. is supposed the produce of 30 cwt. of the material, and the equivalent is stated not *nearly* but precisely one third more than the duty.---And now to come to these particular calculations, which, I must beg leave, to set out in the Author's own words*

“ Calculations for Iron Hoops.

	£.	s.	d.
“ A ton of Russia iron fit for			
“ hoops, cost in 1784, in			
“ London, nearly - -	14	10	0
“ Waste of metal and charge of			
“ smelting, - - -	3	10	0
	<hr/>		

* Observations on Ireland, page 225, 230.

“ Cost

	£.	s.	d.
" Cost of a ton of hoops in Lon-			
" don	-	18	0 0
" Difference of duty on a ton of			
" bar iron in favour of Ire-			
" land,	-	2	7 0
		<hr/>	
" Cost of a ton of hoops in Dub-			
" lin,	-	15	13 0
" Difference in favour of Ireland,			
" about 15l. per cent.			

" Calculation of split iron.

" A ton of Russia bar iron, fit			
" for rod iron, cost, in Lon-			
" don, in 1784, about	-	14	0 0
" Waste of metal and charge of			
" flitting,	-	1	10 0
		<hr/>	
" Cost of a ton of rod iron in			
" London,	-	15	10 0
			" Dif-

	£.	s.	d.
" Difference of duty in favour			
" of Ireland,	2	7	0
	<hr/>		
" Cost of a ton of rod iron in			
" Dublin,	13	3	0
" Difference in favour of Ire-			
" land, between 15l. and			
" 20l. per cent.			

I believe it will be obvious to every body, that these calculations have been made principally to establish the observations stated at the end of each of them, that Ireland has in one instance 15l. per cent. in the other between 15l. and 20l. per cent. advantage over England, and that such conclusion could not follow, unless the general value was kept low. A moment, however, for argument sake, I will allow our Author all his improbable, and all his impossible

O

premises;

premises; such as that a ton of Russia bar iron, fit for rods, was ever bought in Dublin for 11l. 13s. (or 14l. less by 2l. 7s. the difference in duty) that such ton could be carried to Lucan, or Leixlip, the nearest slitting mills, and there worked with coals, costing above a guinea a ton, and then brought back in rods to Dublin, and that the waste of iron, and all the expences, should not stand in more than 1l. 10s.—I admit the whole of his calculation, that the ton of English rods in London stands in 15l. 10s. and in Dublin 13l. 3s. English, and now they are ready in both places for exportation, suppose to the West-Indies; the English go out free; the Irish by the compact must pay export duty 2l. 16s. 3d. English, add this to 13l. 3s. and the amount will stand thus on ship board:

The

The Irish,	-	-	-	£. 15	19	3
The English,	-	-	-	15	10	0

Balance in favour of the English 0 9 3
 which is near three per cent. and which, considering that freight from London is *always* cheaper to the West-Indies than from Dublin, with the advantages arising from superior capital and the rate of interest, is enough to destroy any wholesale trade on earth; to which, if these wares are made of English iron, must be added 2l. 16s. per ton more, which in this computation is supposed paid as import duty; and this proves demonstrably, of our Author's own shewing, how unequal was the compact of 1778. The same advantage of 9s. 3d. will be found in his other computations, though the per centage will not be quite so large. Is it surprising, after this, that Ireland has never sent any of these heavy wares to the West-

Indies, and that she as strongly asserts she never can, and yet this is the prohibitory duty which some men have the modesty to insist upon, that Ireland should now impose on her own trade with free States, or that she must be charged with breach of good faith and agreement.

I feel I must have convinced every impartial mind, and yet these observations compel me to go one step further, and shew, that all the mistakes herein are not altogether unintentional.

The main intent of these calculations was to shew, that Ireland would have 15l. per cent. in one article, and from 15l. to 20l. per cent. in another, and to prove this, it was necessary to state these articles far below their real value.

If a ton of rod iron in London cost but 15l. 10s. and there is a loss upon that of 2l. 7s. that is certainly at the rate of 15l. 5s. 6d. on every hundred pounds value; but if that rod iron be worth 20l. though the loss should be still 2l. 7s. per ton, yet this loss falls but upon a fifth part of every 100l. and consequently is but 11l. 15s. instead of 15l. per cent. Raise the price still higher, the loss would be proportionably less.

And now allow me to shew how our Author himself has stated these prices in the same year 1784, where there was no occasion to state things too strongly against Ireland. In his American Observations he says *,

" A ton of Iron when manufactured in	
" Britain into rods is worth -	£. 21
" Hoops, - - - - -	22

* Observations on America, page 20.

" Bolts,	-	-	-	-	-	24
" Anchors	.	-	-	-	-	30
" Nails,	-	-	-	-	-	35
" Hoes and axes,	-	-	-	-	-	42
" Anvils,	-	-	-	-	-	42
" Tin Plates	-	-	-	-	-	56
" Steel,	-	-	-	-	-	56

Oh ! ancient honour of the British name, can you suffer such arguments any longer to avail ; to break the bonds of brotherly affections, and to alienate, if possible, from your markets your best customers.

I have done with this part of the argument, because I am sure I must have convinced every man, that Irish exportation never has, in a single instance, to any part of the world, interfered with the English iron exportation ; that Ireland never did, nor ever can, import Baltic iron on the same terms with the English, and therefore, that
the

she finds it her interest to import it from London, in which case she pays not 10s. but 14s. per ton duty, as the fact is stated by the Lords of the Committee of the Council*; and that in a very short time
England

* It seems almost unnecessary to multiply arguments on this subject; whoever but looks at a map of Europe, and sees how Edinburgh or Hull stands with respect to the mouth of the Baltic, will be satisfied; whoever recollects the ingenious arguments of the Scotch, when they wished to induce the Irish gentlemen to subscribe to their navigation from Edinburgh to Glasgow, will remember the principal one to be that, by that means, we could import our iron and naval stores cheaper across Scotland, than we can do by long sea. The ordinary freight of iron, as ballast, from Peterburgh to London is but five shillings per ton, the freight to Hull is 10s. besides insurance; Ireland, on a medium, imports but about 750 tons of hemp, and consequently can little lessen, by that means, the freight of iron, which comes to her as a principal part of every cargo. The medium freight from Peterburgh to Dublin is 33s. English, beside insurance; in the time of war this was more striking. In the last war the demand for hemp, &c. was so great, that the freight of iron to London was never raised; at the same time that to Dublin from Peterburgh was three guineas per ton. You, Sir, in the examination before the Lords of the Committee of Council in
February

England will make bar iron enough at home, fully to supply these three kingdoms, at which time foreigners will be totally excluded, and England will have the monopoly of our market, upon the only terms any monopoly should be ever established, that of supplying us cheaper than can be done by any other part of the world.

I pass

February last, in concert with Mr. Bolton, Mr. Wilkinson, Mr. Reynolds, and Mr. White †, have been pleased to ascertain this fact, and to assign the true causes of these considerable advantages that Britain has over Ireland—your answers are stated to me thus: “ Though the Irish
 “ pay something of higher duty upon foreign iron import-
 “ ed from this country, together with two freights, yet
 “ these disadvantages are supposed to be counterbalanced
 “ by the credit they get here, and which they could not
 “ get in Russia or Sweden. By our importing iron fre-
 “ quently as ballast, together with hemp and other com-
 “ modities, which enable us to sell it *much* cheaper, and
 “ by the convenience the Irish have of purchasing it in
 “ small quantities as they want it, and thereby carrying
 “ on their trade with a less capital.” And to this might be added, the different rate of interest on the two coun-

† Page 49, Examination before the Council, concerning iron and iron manufactures.

I pass over the exaggeration of the Shropshire company's consuming five hundred tons of coals every day, in which event, allowing even two tons of coal to make one ton of iron, that company alone might make between seventy and eighty thousand tons a year, which is equal to the whole consumption of England. The real fact, as I understand it, stands thus with the house of Mr. Wilkinson, &c. which being the most extensive as I hear in that part of England, I

tries. There are but one or two little circumstances in which I can differ from this account; but with respect to credit, or the postponement on the term of payment, for goods beyond what is usually allowed in the course of business, it is generally considered as the advantage the rich merchant has over the poorer one, and for which the former is sure, some how or another, to be paid, not only the common interest, but whatsoever extraordinary he might make by his money, in a course of more frequent circulation, and for his risk also.

And the same might be said with respect to him who buys up goods in large quantities, and sells out again in smaller shares. And these therefore are obstructions arising from the poverty of Ireland, not causes that can set up a rivalry against England.

must presume to be the one to which our Author alludes. That house, I hear, makes one hundred tons of bar iron every week, and expects, during the course of this year, to make two hundred tons a week, and when one house can do this, the business is accomplished. These gentlemen, I hear, have their coals from two shillings and sixpence to four shillings per ton, and can now finish their iron for eleven pounds per ton; and when Lord Dundonald's scheme of extracting pitch and tar, and volatile alkali, and essential oil, from pit-coal, during its operation of coaking is accomplished, their fuel probably will come considerably at a lower rate, and the iron will be made the cheaper. And these works being situated on the Severn, or the river —, which runs the Severn, they will have the supply of Ireland by the most easy conveyance; and accordingly I hear from one of the principal houses in that line here, that they are now in actual treaty for being supplied
from

from thence with that iron—but it is not in iron only, but with this superiority in firing, with the benefit of water carriage, and with the advantage of this river —, which I hear is all full of mills and machinery already, they will undersell the world in all the heavy iron manufactures also.

I come now, though reluctantly, to those parts of the observations * in which while Ireland is represented † as affecting to encourage the spreading of manufactures, “ and while doubts are said to be entertained of the expediency of endeavouring “ on her part to make iron a principal part “ of the manufacture of her kingdom, and “ of vying with a favourite and established “ manufacture of Great Britain,” she is held out to the jealousy of England ‡ under

* Observations on Ireland, p. 235. † Ditto, p. 219.

‡ Ditto, page 220.

the invidious and alarming appellation of its *new rival* *fister* of Ireland, and that (for the purpose of giving that rivalry effect, we must presume) steam engines are now erecting there.

Now, would not any man imagine that this was altogether an encroachment and a novelty, and could he be persuaded that the only crime of devoted Ireland was, her continuing to make for her own use plow-shares and reaping hooks, nails and hoops, and such articles, as in all probability she was in the habit of making before the name of Englishman was ever heard of in her island. That the furnaces of Ireland *never* were in so forsaken and deplorable a way as they are at present ; and that no steam engine ever has been applied to the making or manufacturing iron in Ireland. That the great iron works which were at Mountrath, at Swadlingbar, at Lough Allen, at Woodford

fork and Feakell, those in the County of Cork, of Galway, of Mayo, and many other parts of Ireland, are all abandoned, and even the last lingering one at Enniscorthy, has declined, and that in return all we have gained (the object of this mighty envy) is a very few little rolling, plating and slitting mills for working with foreign iron, and with foreign coals for domestic uses only. Four, I think, near Dublin—one at Newry—and one, I think, near Waterford; and that in spite of what they do, the importation of iron wares from England is daily encreasing. I asked the proprietors of what I believe to be the most considerable of these, to give me some comparative view of the work he did, and his answer was, that his consumption of coals in the year, was not more than what Lord Sheffield states as the consumption of one English company in one day.

The

The Observer himself has properly enough stated the case, where he says, “ that in
 “ England the scarcity and price of wood
 “ had rendered it impossible to enter into
 “ competition with foreigners, or to make
 “ iron enough for home consumption and
 “ manufactures, and * but within a few
 “ years the trade has been rescued from
 “ ruin by the expedient of using coaked pit
 “ coal.”

“ So, while Ireland had woods, she had
 “ also many iron works, † but when the
 “ former were cut down and destroyed,
 “ there was of course nearly an end of the
 “ latter; the improvements in making iron
 “ have now encouraged her to revive
 “ them.” And where my good Lord is
 the *established* exclusive manufacture in the
 one, or the *new* and culpable rivalry in
 the other?

* Observations on Ireland, page 212. † Ditto, p. 227.

And

And where was the necessity under these heads of iron and steel, to heap together every thing that might be thought to imply a threat or induce an embarrassment on unoffending Ireland, every thing that might discourage or disgrace that country, every thing that might excite in England a diffidence of or an animosity against her people? “ I do not see, in an examination of iron
 “ and steel * that it was altogether necessary to set out, that if Ireland *really*
 “ means an arrangement in every respect
 “ reciprocal, she *must expect* to give a bounty
 “ on the export of British linens from
 “ thence.” But Ireland is not, I believe, terrified at this formidable argument ; as an Irishman, I will express my own opinion on the subject freely : If Britain desires it she is intitled to each bounty—when it was first given by Britain, it was not merely to enable the Northern Irish absentees to

* Observations on Ireland, page 232.

spend a larger property in her country—
 It was that the Irish linens might make a part in those assorted cargoes in which one article contributes to the sale of another, and in which the being able to supply his customer with every thing, in some degree secures to the merchant his monopoly.

Some few years ago; when Ireland being restored to her commercial right, too fondly persuaded herself that the exercise of a free trade must be as extensive as the name, she thought it prudent to grant a similar bounty that her linens might make a part of her foreign cargoes also. If Britain now wishes that we should add her linens to our assortments, I do not see how Ireland can refuse it, and therefore, if called upon, I will move it myself in parliament.

But what shall we say to that general assertion of our author's, which declares a
 perpetual

perpetual warfare between the two countries;—" * That it is impossible for Britain
 " to be permanently secured in *any* regula-
 " tions that may be made, but that when
 " our trade shall be once gone, in conse-
 " quence of our arrangements, and she
 " finds herself disappointed, the recovery
 " of her trade will not be then probable."
 And what *indignation* may an Irishman not
 express at the reason assigned which thus
 stigmatizes his country. " It has not been,
 " says our author, and it *will not be* the po-
 " licy of Ireland to enforce a very exact
 " observance of such cautions as may be
 " adopted. Britain must submit her manu-
 " factures, her trade and commercial laws
 " to the fidelity of the Custom-house
 " officers of Ireland in many respects, and
 " in consequence thereof her trade will be
 " gone."

* Observations on Ireland, page 232.

And must not the trade of Ireland, in like manner, be committed to the care of English and Scotch revenue officers; and is not the trade and intercourse of both countries, at this moment, committed to them without receiving any material injury? I do not pretend to say some contraband trade will not be carried on between two countries so contiguous to each other, but I could never find any evidence that shewed, that this illicit trade is carried on to greater extent in Ireland than in Britain, or that our revenues here are less attended to. I have heard it asserted, and I believe truly, that there was smuggling to as great value in the port of London as in all Ireland; and I am certain, that neither Scotland, nor the West of England, nor the contiguous coasts of Suffex, would yield to Ireland in this species of dexterity.—The late examination, relative to smuggling in the British House of Commons shews how
much

much we are surpassed in this business by our neighbours.--- But it is hoped, when a wise and equitable arrangement of trade shall be made; when the two kingdoms shall be considered, *in these respects*, as two countries only, of the same dominion, by removing all obstructions of additional import duty from the one to the other, and the consequent temptation to smuggling shall be thus removed, it will be in the power of the Ministers of each country exceedingly to simplify the mode of collecting their revenue, and to transfer much of the duty from import to inland excise. And when the proper cautions for carrying such a system into execution shall be adopted by Ireland upon the footing of fair faith, for her own benefit, with her own consent, and by the laws of her Parliament, I say, it is too much for any man to assert, that she *will not* enforce an honourable observance of them, or that any former policy of

that country can justify a contrary conclusion.

Among the different trades which it is thus supposed that Britain may lose and Ireland gain, that to America is probably considered as one of the most extensive; but let me inform the noble author, that the best hold Britain has at this day of any part of the trade of America is by means of Ireland, and that if Ireland shall have just cause to be disgusted, America will be lost for ever; and that on the other hand, if these islands shall ever have any chance of recovering any part of their antient influence in that vast, but yet unsettled empire, it must be through the medium of Ireland; but this, I fear, is a flight of policy of too bold a wing for modern ministers, and *therefore*, I shall be silent on the subject; however, I desire here to enter my caveat against the 16th Proposition of the English House
of

of Commons, so far as it relates to the article of American iron.---England, to protect her own manufacture, lays a duty of 2l. 16s. on foreign iron.---To favour her Colonies, she permits the iron of Canada and Nova Scotia to be imported duty free.---Ireland lets in iron of Russia and America equally at 10s. 6d.---shall she be obliged under this 16th proposition, to lay 1l. 16s. English additional on the iron of the American States *, more than she does on the Russian; and must she not expect the moment that unjust inequality is established, to be excluded from the Ports of America for ever. England you see will not be drawn to shew such partiality to strangers against Americans.

But to return to our articles of iron and steel, I confess I do not see clearly why our

* Q. If Colony iron may not be imported into Ireland duty free.

author,

author, under these heads, should think it necessary to state “ *the extravagancies and* “ *uncommon proceedings and unsettled state of* “ *Ireland* *,” or why he should thus make a charge upon a whole nation for the enormities of the riotous, but starving manufacturers of the capital only, when he had before said, that a considerable proportion of the country differed from them, and that the parliament of Ireland, by a great majority, had rejected their plan. I do not see the occasion why under this head, merely to injure the credit of Ireland† he should bring back the old story of the Absentee Tax which the Irish parliament rejected (in my opinion unwisely) so long ago I think as November, 1772, and of which there has since been but little mention;---why he should here (for the same purpose) impute

* Observations on Ireland, page 234.

† Observations on Ireland, page 238.

to a whole nation * arbitrary and impatient dispositions.

It may no doubt, to some people, seem not very disadvantageous to sell their estates in one country for 10 years purchase †, when they could lay out the money in another at 23 years purchase; but they will allow our weaker understandings to think this is some disadvantage.---But while this rod is hung over us, and while we are thus assured, that Englishmen are not *very* fond of sending their money to Ireland, and that when they recollect, they will be much less so; may we hope that we shall not be upbraided with this poverty, nor lectured with this sort of insulting unsolicited advice, “ That as Ireland may *sometimes want money, it is not quite so prudent to take such measures,*” as taxing our advisers ‡.

* Observations on Ireland, page 234. † Ditto, page 233. ‡ Ditto, page 234.

It may naturally now be asked me, if this case be exactly as I have stated it; if there is no probability that Ireland will ever become the successful rival of England in the iron trade, whence all this anxiety upon the subject, and wherefore this pamphlet of so many pages? I will answer directly: I saw an alarming jealousy rising between these two kingdoms; I thought there were some men in Britain, who considered Ireland on all occasions, as a capable and willing opponent, who, unless strongly coerced, must in the end carry away the greater part of her manufactures, and that in this country, also, there were many who thought they could well perceive, that tho' the legislature of Britain had lately emancipated our constitution and our trade, yet the manufacturing part of the people still seemed to claim the right of restraining, of taxing, of legislating for us, just as might suit their private convenience.---That in the town

town of Manchester, which according to Doctor Percival's last account of its population, as I recollect, contains about thirty-five thousand persons, men, women and children, wise and foolish : there was found, according to the statement of a noble Lord, no less than one hundred and twenty thousand literate, adult, decided statesmen, who had taken upon them to determine at once for us, and to instruct their own Parliament, upon a question in politics so difficult, so complicated, so abstract, that it might have engaged the wisdom of a Solon or a Plato, to decide on ; perhaps, the most abstruse that has ever been agitated ; the constitutional union of two separated, free and independent kingdoms.

Weave the warp, and weave the woof,
The winding sheet of Edward's race.

I felt the powerful, though I am persuaded unintended effect of Lord Sheffield's

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publication

publication (at least through this country) in exciting and confirming this jealousy, and I confess, I trembled when I looked back on scenes just passed away on the other side of the Atlantic.

*Fraternas Acies, Alternaque Bella profanis
decertata Odiis.*

And I wished, while yet it was not too late, that my poor endeavours might be employed in counteracting these greatest of calamities ; you, Sir, (from motives of reciprocity and affection, I admit) have thought fit to appeal to me on a part of this subject, and have thereby afforded me an opportunity of delivering so far my opinions, which I have with the greater freedom, as they have not been taken up upon the spur of the present occasion, but which appear to have been conceived, and uniformly acted up to for more than seven years, and as such, I may hope they will be considered impartial.

The cloſer England and Ireland became connected, the more eaſy, no doubt, will be the intercourſe, more of our nobility and gentry, more of our ingenious and refined artiſts will probably go to your country.—In the coarſer branches, which depend on cheapneſs of living, where leſs capital and leſs ingenuity are required (if from local advantages ſuch works can be better carried on in Ireland) many of them probably will be eſtabliſhed here.—But in a ſhort time, if there be an encrease of inhabitants and trade, theſe will raiſe the price of labour and of proviſions.—And taxes will, I fear, not be wanting in any part of the Britiſh dominions, ſo ſoon as there ſhall be found a capability of paying them—and thus things ſtill will preſerve their natural level.

In the mean time, I cannot ſee how the ſucceſs of one country, on one ſide of the
narrow

narrow channel between these islands, can injure another on the other side, more than how the property of Yorkshire is to be affected by that of Lancashire, or your trade annihilated by the continuance of the Carron Company.

Our empire, I fear, has already powerful enemies on the Continent; let us not weaken ourselves by internal division, let every part rather be strengthened, and all united in affection; let us be true to one another, and Britain, I trust, may yet be confident against the world in arms, and such, Sir, is the warmest wish of

Your very obedient,



Humble servant,

LUCIUS O'BRIEN.

R E S O L U T I O N S

OF THE

C O M M O N S,

RELATIVE TO THE

Adjustment of the Commercial Intercourse
between Great Britain and Ireland.

AS AMENDED BY THE LORDS.

Note.—The Words printed in Italic, were inserted by the Lords.

I.

RESOLVED, That it is highly important to the general interests of the British Empire, that the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

II. Resolved, That it is consistent with the essential interests of the manufactures, revenue, commerce, and navigation of Great Britain, that a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, whenever a provision, equally permanent and secure, shall be made by the parliament of that kingdom towards defraying, in proportion to its growing prosperity, the necessary expences, in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

III. Resolved, That, towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, except those of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties (if subject to duties) to which they would be liable when imported directly from the country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively,

as the case may be ; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, except on arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all sorts of strong waters, not imported from the British Colonies in the West Indies, shall be fully drawn back, *within a time to be limited*, on exportation to the other ; but nevertheless, that the duties shall continue to be protected and guarded as at present, by withholding the drawback until a certificate from the proper officers of the revenue in the kingdom to which the export may be made, shall be returned, and compared with the entry outwards.

IV. Resolved, That it is highly important to the general interests of the British Empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland ; and therefore that it is essential, towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that all laws which have been made, or shall be made, in Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Colonies and Plantations, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the British Colonies and Plantations (such laws imposing the same restraints, and conferring the same benefits, on the subjects of both kingdoms) should be in force in Ireland, by laws to be passed in the parliament of that kingdom, for the same time and in the same manner as in Great Britain.

V. Resolved, That it is further essential to this settlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of British or foreign colonies in America, or the West Indies, and the British or foreign settlements on the Coast of Africa, imported into Ireland, should, on importation, be subject to the same duties and regulations as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be subject to, upon importation into Great Britain ; or if prohibited to be imported into Great Britain, shall be prohibited in like manner from being imported into Ireland.

VI. Resolved, That in order to prevent illicit practices injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient, that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which shall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, should be put (by laws to be passed in the parliaments of the two kingdoms) under the same regulations with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods are now subject in passing from one port of Great Britain to another.

VII. Resolved, That, for the like purpose, it is also expedient, that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture



facture of the British West India Islands, or any other of the British Colonies or Plantations, shall be shipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they should be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers of the said Colonies as shall be required by law on importation into Great Britain; and that, when the whole quantity included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity, should be sent with the first parcel; and, to identify the remainder, if shipped within a time to be limited, new certificates should be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what ports.

VIII. Resolved, That it is essential, for carrying into effect the present settlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British Colonies in the West Indies, or in America, or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan, should from time to time be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulations, as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less incumbrance of duties or impositions than the like goods shall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain.

IX. Resolved, That it is essential to the general commercial interests of the empire, that, so long as the parliament of this kingdom shall think it adviseable that the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan, shall be carried on solely by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries should be allowed to be imported into Ireland but through Great Britain; except dye stuffs, drugs, cotton or other wool, and spiceries, which may be imported into Ireland from foreign European countries, so long as the same are importable from foreign European countries into Great Britain: And that it shall be lawful to export such goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan, from Great Britain to Ireland, with the same duties retained thereon as are now retained on their being exported to that kingdom, but that an account shall be kept of the duties retained and not drawn back on the said goods exported to Ireland, and that the amount thereof shall be remitted, by the Receiver General of his Majesty's customs in Great Britain, to the proper officer of the revenue in Ireland, to be placed to the account of his Majesty's revenue there, sub-
* B 2
ject

ject to the disposal of the parliament of that kingdom ; and that the ships going from Great Britain to any of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, should not be restrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom ; and that no ships be allowed to clear out from Ireland for any of the said countries, but such ships as shall be freighted by the said company, and which shall have sailed from the port of London : And that, whenever the commerce to the said countries shall cease to be so carried on solely by such an exclusive company, the goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, should be importable into Ireland from the *British or foreign settlements in the East Indies, subject to the same duties and regulations as the like goods from time to time shall be subject to on importation into Great Britain ; and if prohibited to be imported into Great Britain, should in like manner be prohibited from being imported into Ireland.*

X. Resolved, That no prohibition should exist, in either country, against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except such as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits ; and except such qualified prohibitions, at present contained in any act of the British or Irish parliaments, as do not absolutely prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or materials of manufactures, but only regulate the weight, the size, the packages, or other particular circumstances, or prescribe the built or country, and dimensions of the ships importing the same ; and also except on ammunition, arms, gunpowder, and other utensils of war, importable only by virtue of his Majesty's licence ; and that the duty on the importation of every such article (if subject to duty in either country) should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption, or an internal bounty in the country where such article is grown, produced, or manufactured ; and except such duties as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.

XI. Resolved, That, in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the highest,

highest, to an amount not exceeding the amount *which was payable in the other on the 17th day of May, 1782*, so that where any article was charged with a duty on importation into Ireland of ten and a half per centum or upwards, on the 17th day of May 1782, *the same amount shall not be less than such duty of ten and a half per centum*; and that all such articles should be exportable, from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duties as the similar commodities or home manufacture of the same kingdom: *Provided always, That when any such articles shall be liable, in either country, to any duty on being exported to any foreign country, the same articles, when re-exported from either of the said kingdoms into which they shall have been so imported as aforesaid, shall pay the like duties as if they had been originally exported from the kingdom of their growth, produce, or manufacture, to such foreign country.*

XII. Resolved, That it is also proper, that, in all cases where the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture, such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed, *so that the countervailing duty to be paid upon manufactured salt imported into any part of Great Britain, shall be computed upon the internal duty payable thereon in England*; and that, where there is a duty on the raw material of any manufacture in either kingdom, such manufacture may, on its importation into the *said* kingdom from the other, be charged with such a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same to burthens adequate to those which *such* manufacture is subject to, in consequence of *such* duties on *such* raw material in the kingdom into which *such* manufactures is so to be imported; and that the said manufactures, so imported, shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burthen than the home-made manufacture; *and that, where a duty is payable, in either kingdom, on any article carried coastwise from one port to another of the said kingdom, the same article, when imported from the other kingdom, should be subject to the like duty.*

XIII. Resolved, That, in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, produce,

duce, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution, or in consequence of bounties remaining on such article when exported from the other kingdom.

XIV. Resolved, That, for the same purpose, it is necessary, further, that no new prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, produce, or manufacture, from the one kingdom to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits: *Provided, That when any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, shall be prohibited by laws of the said kingdom to be exported to foreign countries, the same article, when exported to the other kingdom, shall be prohibited to be re-exported from thence to any foreign countries.*

XV. Resolved, That, for the same purpose, it is necessary, that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article, to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, and except also the bounties at present given by Great Britain on beer and spirits distilled from corn, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid; and that no bounties should be payable in Ireland on the exportation of any article to any British Colonies or Plantations, or to the British settlements on the Coast of Africa, or on the exportation of any article imported from the British Plantations, or from the British settlements on the Coast of Africa, or British settlements in the East Indies, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or of compensation of or for duties paid, over and above any duties paid thereon in Great Britain; and that, where any internal bounty shall be given, in either kingdom, on any goods manufactured therein, and shall remain on such goods when exported, a countervailing duty adequate thereto may be laid upon the importation of the said goods into the other kingdom.

XVI. Resolved, That it is expedient, for the general benefit of the British Empire, that the importation of articles from foreign countries should be regulated, from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may effectually favour the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other; except in the case of materials of manufacture, which are or hereafter may be allowed to be imported from foreign
are

countries duty-free ; and that, in all cases where any articles are or may be subject to higher duties on importation into this kingdom, from the countries belonging to any of the states of North America, than the like goods are or may be subject to when imported as the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British colonies and plantations, or as the produce of the fisheries carried on by British subjects, such articles shall be subject to the same duties on importation into Ireland, from the countries belonging to any of the states of North America, as the same are or may be subject to on importation from the said countries into this kingdom.

XVII. Resolved, That it is expedient that such privileges of printing and vending books, *engraving, prints, maps, charts, and plans*, as are or may be legally possessed within Great Britain, under the grant of the crown or otherwise, and *that the copy rights of the authors and booksellers, the engraved property of engravers, print and mapsellers*, of Great Britain, should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present by the laws of Great Britain ; and that it is just that measures should be taken, by the parliament of Ireland, for giving the like protection to the *copy rights of authors and booksellers, and to the engraved property of the engravers, print and mapsellers*, of that kingdom.

XVIII. Resolved, That it is expedient that *such exclusive rights and privileges, arising from new inventions, as are now legally possessed within Great Britain under letters patent from the crown*, shall continue to be protected in the manner they are at present by the laws of Great Britain ; and that it is just that measures should be taken by the parliament of Ireland for giving the like protection to similar rights and privileges in that kingdom ; and also, that it is expedient that regulations should be adopted, with respect to *letters patent* hereafter to be granted in the case of new inventions, so that the rights, privileges, and restrictions, therein granted and contained, shall be of equal force and duration throughout both kingdoms.

XIX. Resolved, That it is expedient, that measures should be taken to prevent disputes touching the exercise of the right of the inhabitants of each kingdom to fish on the coasts of any part of the British dominions.

XX. Resolved, That the appropriation of whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provisions) shall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of six hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds in each year, towards
the

the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the parliament of Ireland shall direct, by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision, proportioned to the growing prosperity of that kingdom, towards defraying, in time of peace, the necessary expences of protecting the trade and general interest of the empire.

The following is an AUTHENTIC COPY of
 Mr. P I T T's IRISH COMMERCIAL
 BILL, grounded on the PROPOSITIONS which
 have been so long in discussion, and as it was
 read a *first time* in the *House of Commons*, on
 Tuesday, August 2, 1785.

*A Bill for finally regulating the Intercourse and Commerce between
 Great Britain and Ireland, on permanent and equitable Prin-
 ciples, for the mutual benefit of both Kingdoms.*

WHEEREAS it is highly important to the general inter-
 rests of the British empire, that the intercourse and
 commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, should be finally
 regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual
 benefit of both countries.

And whereas, for that purpose it is expedient, that the trade be-
 tween the said countries, as well in articles of the growth, pro-
 duce, or manufacture of either of them, as in those of foreign
 countries, should be encouraged and extended as much as pos-
 sible; and that a full participation of the commercial advantages
 which this kingdom may derive from any of its foreign settle-
 ments, colonies, or plantations, and from the exclusive privi-
 leges enjoyed by the ships and seamen thereof, should be secured
 to Ireland on the same terms as the said advantages are, or shall
 be, from time to time, enjoyed by the inhabitants of this king-
 dom :

Be it further declared by the King's most Excellent Majesty,
 by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and
 Temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled,
 and by the authority of the same, That it shall be held and ad-
 judged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the pre-
 sent settlement, that no prohibition shall exist, in either of the
 kingdoms of Great Britain or Ireland, against the importation,
 use, or sale of any article of the growth, produce, or manufac-
 ture of the other of the said kingdoms, except such as are herein-
 after excepted.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no
 prohibition shall exist in this kingdom, after the

on the importation, use, or sale of any article, the
 growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, except such as now
 exist

exist, against the importation of corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit, and also except such qualified prohibitions which are now, or may hereafter be in force, as do not absolutely prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or the materials of manufactures, but only regulate or prescribe the tonnage, or dimensions, or built, or country of the ships or vessels in which the same may be imported, or regulate or prescribe the weight, size, or quantity of the article to be therein imported, or the packages in which the same may be contained, or regulate, or prescribe other circumstances relative thereto; and also except prohibitions restraining the importation for sale of ammunition, arms, gunpowder, and other utensils of war, unless by virtue of his Majesty's licence; and also except such prohibitions as may be necessary for protecting the copy rights of authors and booksellers, the engraved property of engravers, and of the venders of prints and maps, and all other exclusive rights and privileges, which are or may be formed in this kingdom, for the encouragement of new inventions, to bodies corporate or individuals, by acts of parliament, grants from the crown, or otherwise.

And be it further declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that in all cases in which there is a difference between the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, when imported into Great Britain, the duties on such articles should be reduced, in the kingdom, where they are highest, to an amount not exceeding the duties which were payable in the other on the 17th of May, 1782; so that in every case in which any article was charged with a duty on importation into Ireland of 10l. 10s. per cent. or upwards, on the 17th day of May, 1782, the amount of the said duties so reduced shall not be less than the said duty of 10l. 10s. per cent. and that all articles which are now importable duty free into either kingdom from the other, shall hereafter be imported duty free into each kingdom from the other respectively: Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be lawful to import into this kingdom, all goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland (except as herein excepted) subject to such rates and duties as aforesaid, to be fixed and ascertained in the manner to be herein after directed.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that in all cases in which the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, such manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on the im-

importation, adequate to countervail the duty on the manufacture; and that in all cases in which there shall be a duty in either kingdom on the raw material of any manufacture, such manufacture may, on its importation from the other kingdom, be charged with a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same to burthens adequate to those to which such manufacture is subject, in consequence of such duties on such raw materials, in the kingdom into which such manufacture may be so imported; and that in all cases in which a bounty shall be given, in either kingdom, on any articles manufactured therein, which shall remain on such articles when exported to the other, such articles may be charged with a further duty, in the kingdom into which they shall be imported, sufficient to countervail such bounty remaining thereon: Provided always, That the duty to be imposed upon manufactured salt, imported into any part of Great Britain, in order to countervail the internal duty thereon, shall be computed according to the rate of the internal duty payable thereon in England.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that no new or additional duty or duties shall be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except such countervailing duties as may from time to time be imposed, as herein before provided, in consequence of any internal duty on the manufacture, or of any duty on the raw material of which such manufacture is composed, or of any bounty given on any goods manufactured in the other kingdom, and remaining on such goods when exported therefrom; and that such countervailing duties to be imposed as aforesaid, shall continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties on the manufacture or raw material which such duty so imposed shall have been intended to countervail, or as such article shall retain, on exportation from the other kingdom, the bounty which such duty so imposed shall have been intended to countervail.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that no new prohibition, or new or additional duties, shall hereafter be imposed, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, produce, or manufacture, from one kingdom to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit.

Provided always, and it is hereby declared by the authority aforesaid, to be a fundamental and essential condition of the pre-

sent settlement, That when any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom shall be prohibited by the laws of the said kingdom to be exported to foreign countries, the same articles, when exported to the other kingdom, shall be prohibited to be re-exported from thence to any foreign country.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, That no bounties whatever should be paid or payable, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, malt, meal, flour, and biscuit; and except also the bounties at present given on beer, and spirits distilled from corn; and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid: Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all bounties now payable in Great Britain, by virtue of any act or acts of parliament, on the exportation of any articles to Ireland, shall cease and determine, and be no longer paid, or payable, from and after except the bounties now payable on beer, and spirits distilled from corn; and except any bounties which relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; and except such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensations for duties paid.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland should be exportable, from the kingdom into which they shall be imported from the other, as free from duties as similar commodities of the same kingdom; and that all manufactures of either kingdom, imported into the other, shall be intitled to such drawbacks or bounties, on exportation from the kingdom into which they shall have been so imported, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burthens than the home-made manufactures of such kingdom; and that when any such articles shall be liable, in either kingdom, to any duty on being exported to any foreign country, the same articles, if they shall have been imported from such kingdom into the other, shall, on exportation from such other kingdom to any foreign countries, pay the same duties as they would have been liable to on exportation from the kingdom of their growth, produce, or manufacture, to such foreign country or countries:

And be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, imported into Great Britain, shall be intitled to such freedom

or

or exemption from duty, and to such drawbacks, or bounties in the nature of drawbacks, on exportation from Great Britain to any place or country whatever, as may render them subject, on such exportation, to no heavier burthen than the like articles, of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, are or may be subject to on exportation therefrom to the same countries or places respectively; and that all articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland shall, on being exported from this kingdom to any foreign country, be subject to the same duty or duties to which they would have been subject on being exported directly from Ireland to such foreign country.

And whereas, in order to ascertain the duties, bounties, and drawbacks, which may take place as aforesaid, on the importation of the articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom into the other, or on the exportation of the articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom from thence to the other, or on the exportation of the articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom from the other to any foreign countries, it is expedient that proper persons be appointed, in each kingdom, to prepare a schedule or schedules thereof, to be laid before the Parliaments of both kingdoms, for their consideration and approbation; be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That shall, and they are hereby authorized and impowered to meet, confer, and consult touching the formation of such schedule or schedules as aforesaid, or any particulars relative thereto, with any person or persons who may be appointed for the like purpose by virtue of any act of the Parliament of Ireland

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said shall, and they are hereby required to lay, with all convenient speed, such schedule or schedules, and a report of their proceedings relative to the formation thereof, before the House of Commons of Great Britain.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said shall, and they are hereby authorized and impowered to examine upon oath any persons whatever, who shall be willing to be so examined, touching any matter relative to the formation of the said schedules.

And be it further enacted, That the said shall, on or before the take and subscribe the following oath before the Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer, or before any one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer:

“ I *A. B.* do swear, That, as a Commissioner appointed by virtue of an Act,
 “ intituled I will, to the
 “ best

“ best of my judgment and ability,
 “ faithfully and impartially discharge
 “ the trust thereby reposed in me,
 “ without favour or affection to any
 “ person or persons whatever,
 “ So help me GOD.”

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all articles, not the growth, produce or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland (except those of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, during such time as the trade to the said countries shall continue to be carried on by an exclusive Company, having liberty to import into the port of London only) shall be imported into each kingdom from the other, reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties (if subject to duties) to which they would be liable when imported directly from the country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, as the case may be: Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to import from Ireland into Great Britain in ships navigated according to law, all goods not the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, or Ireland (except those of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan during such time as the trade shall continue to be carried on by an exclusive Company, having liberty to import into the port of London only) under the same regulations, and at the same duties, to which such goods would be liable when imported directly from the country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Ireland.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all duties originally paid on the importation of such goods into either kingdom respectively, shall be fully drawn back, within a time to be limited, on the exportation to Ireland from Great Britain of arrack, foreign brandy, and foreign rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British Colonies in the West-Indies, and except the duties to be retained, as hereinafter directed, on articles exported to Ireland, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan: Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all duties

ties originally paid or secured, on the importation in this kingdom of any goods or commodities, not being the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, except arrack, foreign brandy, foreign rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British Colonies in the West-Indies, and except the duties to be retained, as hereinafter directed, on articles exported to Ireland, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, shall be fully drawn back, or the security for the same discharged, on exportation thereof to Ireland, within years after the importation thereof into this kingdom.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no such drawback shall be paid, or security discharged, until a certificate from the proper Officer of the Revenue in Ireland, stating the due entry and landing of such articles, shall be returned and delivered to the proper Officer of the port from whence the same shall have been exported, and until the several other particulars by law required in the case of drawbacks shall have been duly observed.

And whereas it is highly and equally important to the interests both of Great-Britain and Ireland, and essential to the objects of the present settlement, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation, so far as relates to the securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great-Britain and Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, and so far as relates to the regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonies and plantations, should be the same in Great-Britain and Ireland, and that all such laws in both kingdoms should impose the same restraints, and confer the same benefits, on the subjects of both, which can only be effected by laws to be passed in the Parliaments of both kingdoms (the Parliament of Great-Britain being alone competent to bind the people of Great-Britain in any case whatever, and the Parliament of Ireland being alone competent to bind the people of Ireland in any case whatever); Therefore be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation, so far as the said laws relate to the securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, and to the regulating and restraining the trade of the British Colonies and Plantations, shall be the same in Great-Britain and Ireland, and shall impose the same restraint, and confer the same benefits, on the subjects of both kingdoms :

And

And be it therefore declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all privileges, advantages, and immunities, which are now granted, or shall, by any law to be passed by the Parliament of Great-Britain, be hereafter granted, to ships built in Great-Britain, or to ships belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects residing in Great-Britain, or to ships manned by British seamen, or to ships manned by certain proportions of British seamen, shall, to all intents and purposes whatever, be enjoyed in the same manner, and under the same regulations and restrictions, respectively, by ships built in Ireland, or by ships belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects residing in Ireland, or by ships manned by Irish seamen, or by ships manned by certain proportions of Irish seamen.

Provided always, and be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that such regulations as are now, or hereafter shall be, in force, by laws passed or to be passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges, advantages, and immunities as aforesaid to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, shall be established in Ireland, for the same time and in the same manner as in Great Britain, by laws to be passed in the parliament of Ireland, within months, if the parliament of Ireland shall be then sitting, or shall continue to sit for months next ensuing, without being prorogued or dissolved; or, in case the parliament of Ireland shall not be then sitting, and shall not continue to sit for months without being prorogued or dissolved, then within months after the commencement of the next ensuing session of parliament: provided, nevertheless, That the laws so to be passed in the parliament of Great Britain, for the purpose aforesaid, shall impose the same restraints, and confer the same benefits, on the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that Irish sail cloth shall be deemed British sail cloth, within the meaning of an act of the nineteenth year of his late Majesty King George the Second, or any other act or acts of parliament of this kingdom respecting the furnishing of ships with British sail cloth; and the Irish sail cloth shall be

be entitled to equal preference and advantage as British for the use of the British navy.

And be it further declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that the people of Ireland now, and at all times to come, shall have the benefit of trading to and from the British colonies and plantations in the West Indies and America, and to and from the British settlements on the coast of Africa; and in the articles of their growth, produce, or manufacture, in as full and ample manner as the people of this kingdom, and shall likewise have the benefit of trading in the like ample manner to and from all such colonies, settlements, and plantations, which this kingdom may hereafter acquire or establish, and to and from such British settlements as may exist in the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, whenever the trade with those countries shall cease to be carried on by an exclusive company having liberty to import into the port of London only.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all goods and commodities whatever, which may at any time be legally imported from Great Britain into any British colonies or plantations in the West Indies or America, or into any British settlements on the coast of Africa, or into any such colonies, settlements, or plantations, which this kingdom may hereafter acquire or establish, or into any British settlements which may exist in the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, whenever the commerce to the said countries shall cease to be carried on by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, may, in like manner, be imported into the said colonies, settlements, or plantations, from Ireland, subject only to the same duties and regulations as the like goods shall be subject to on importation into any of the said colonies, settlements, or plantations, respectively from Great Britain.

Provided always, and be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all such regulations or restrictions as relate to the trade with the British colonies or plantations, which are now, or shall hereafter be, in force by laws passed by the parliament of this kingdom, shall be from time to time established in Ireland, by laws to be passed in the parliament of Ireland within months, if the parliament of Ireland shall be then sitting, and shall continue to sit for months next ensuing, without being prorogued or dissolved; or, in case the parliament of Ireland shall

shall not be then sitting, or shall not continue to sit for months, without being prorogued or dissolved, then within months after the commencement of the next ensuing session of parliament: provided, nevertheless, That the laws so to be passed in the parliament of this kingdom, for the purposes aforesaid, shall impose the same restraints, and confer the same benefits, on the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland.

Provided also, and be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any British, or any foreign colony, in America or in the West Indies, or of any of the British or foreign settlements on the coast of Africa, and all peltry, rum, train oil, and whale fins, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of the countries belonging to the United States of America, or being the produce of the fisheries carried on by the subjects of the said United States, shall, on importation into Ireland, be made subject to the same duties and regulations as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be subject to, on importation into Great Britain; or if prohibited from being imported into Great Britain, shall in like manner be prohibited from being imported into Ireland.

Provided always, and be it declared, That rum, being of the produce or manufacture of the British plantations in the West Indies, may be importable into Ireland at no higher duties than are now payable thereon; and also, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British colonies or plantations in the West Indies, or in America, or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or to any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan, so long as the commerce to the said countries shall continue to be carried on by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, or to any of the British settlements in the East Indies, whenever such commerce shall cease to be carried on by such exclusive company, shall, from time to time, be made liable to such duties, and be entitled to such drawbacks only, and be put under such regulations as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less duties or impositions, than the like goods shall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain: Provided always, That linen and provisions may continue to be exported from Ireland to any British colony, plantation, or settlement, duty free.

Provided

Provided also, and be it further declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that no bounties shall be payable in Ireland, on the exportation of any article to any British colonies or plantations in America, or in the West Indies; or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or in the East Indies, or on the exportation of any article imported from the British colonies or plantations in America, or in the West Indies, or from the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or in the East Indies, or of any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compensation of and for duties paid, over and above any duties paid in Great Britain.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that when any goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West-India islands, or any other of the British colonies or plantations, shall be shipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they shall be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers of the said colonies, as shall be required by law on importation into Great Britain; and that, when the whole quantity included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity, shall be sent with the first parcel, and to identify the remainder, if shipped within new certificates shall be granted by the proper officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what ports: Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That when any ship or vessel shall arrive from any port or place in Ireland, at any port in this kingdom, laden with any goods the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West-India islands, or any other of the British colonies or plantations, no such goods shall be admitted to be imported into this kingdom, unless accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers in the said colonies, as shall be required by law on importation into Great Britain from the said colonies or plantations respectively, under such regulations, restrictions, penalties, and forfeitures, as the like goods are subject to on importation into Great Britain from the said colonies and plantations respectively, or unless, when the whole quantity included in one

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certificate

certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity, shall have been sent with the first parcel, and the remainder shall have been shipped within and shall be accompanied with new certificates granted by the proper officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessel, and to what port.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, That so long as the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, shall continue to be carried on by an exclusive company having liberty to import into the port of London only, all ships freighted by the said company, and which shall have cleared out from the port of London for any of the said countries, shall be at liberty to touch at any of the ports of Ireland, and to take on board there any goods which they might take on board in Great-Britain, any act or acts to the contrary notwithstanding; and that any goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, exported by the East-India Company to any of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, shall be considered as British goods, within the meaning of any obligation which may at any time exist upon the said Company, to send out to those countries certain quantities of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great-Britain; and that no ships shall be allowed to clear out from any port in Ireland, for any of the said countries, except such as shall be freighted by the said Company, and shall have sailed from the port of London; and except such foreign ships as might, by any law now, or hereafter to be in force, clear out for foreign settlements in the said countries, from Great-Britain, which ships shall be allowed to clear out from Ireland in the same manner as from Great-Britain; and that whenever the commerce to the said countries shall cease to be carried on by an exclusive Company having liberty to import into the port of London only, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Streights of Magellan, shall be importable into Ireland from the British, or foreign settlements in the East-Indies, subject to the same duties and regulations, as the like goods shall, from time to time, be subject to on importation into Great-Britain, and if prohibited to be imported into Great Britain, shall in like manner be prohibited from being imported into Ireland.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition
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of the present settlement, that so long as the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, shall be carried on solely by an exclusive company having liberty to import into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries, shall be allowed to be imported into Ireland, but through Great-Britain, except dye stuffs, drugs, cotton, or other wool, and spiceries, and such other articles as are, or hereafter may be importable into Great-Britain from foreign European countries, which articles may be imported into Ireland from European countries, so long as the same are importable from foreign European countries into Great-Britain; and that it shall be lawful to export any goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the said countries, from Great-Britain to Ireland; and that such duties as may now by law be retained thereon on such exportation shall continue to be so retained; but that an account shall be kept thereof, and that the amount thereof shall be remitted by the Receiver General of his Majesty's Customs in Great-Britain, to the proper officer of his Majesty's revenue in Ireland, to be placed to the account of his Majesty's revenue there, subject to the disposal of the Parliament of that kingdom.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all goods and commodities whatever, which shall hereafter be imported into this kingdom from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great-Britain, should be put, by laws to be passed in the Parliaments of the two kingdoms, under the same regulations, with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods are subject in passing from one port of this kingdom to another: Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all goods, which shall be shipped or put on board in any port, creek, or member of any port, in this kingdom, to be carried to any port or place in the kingdom of Ireland, shall be accompanied with the like sufferance and cocket, and subject to the like bond and security, as are required by any law in Great-Britain for the like goods passing from one port in Great-Britain to another; and that no goods brought from any port or place in the kingdom of Ireland shall be permitted to be imported into any port, creek, or member of any port, in this kingdom, without a sufferance and cocket signed by the proper officer or officers of the revenue in Ireland, nor shall be landed in this kingdom until the sufferance and cocket shall have been produced to the proper officer of the Customs here, and a sufferance granted for landing the same, until the like restrictions, regulations, penalties, and forfeitures,

to which goods carried from one port of Great-Britain to another are liable.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, That the inhabitants of both kingdoms shall have an equal right to carry on fisheries on every part of the coasts of the British dominions: Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the subjects of his Majesty, residing in Ireland, shall have equal privileges and advantages with his Majesty's subjects residing in Great-Britain, in fishing on the coasts of Great Britain, and the territories belonging thereto.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that the importation of articles from foreign countries shall be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may effectually favour the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except in the case of materials of manufacture which are, or hereafter may be, allowed to be imported from foreign countries duty free.

And be it declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That this Act, and every part thereof, shall commence and be in force on the

provided that before the said an act shall have been passed in the Parliament of Ireland, which shall appropriate whatever sum the gross produce of the hereditary revenue shall amount to, after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of 656,000*l.* in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the Parliament of that kingdom shall direct in the said Act; and which shall also provide, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that the due collection of the duties composing the said hereditary revenue, shall be at all times effectually secured; and provided that before the said an act or acts shall have been passed in the Parliament of Ireland, for carrying into effect, on the part of that kingdom, the present settlement, and all matters, provisions, and regulations herein declared to be fundamental and essential conditions thereof; and provided also, that before the said an act shall have been passed in the Parliament of Great-Britain, declaring such act or acts of the Parliament of Ireland to contain satisfactory provisions for carrying into effect the present settlement.

And

And be it also declared, That the continuance of the present settlement; and the duration of this Act, and of every thing herein contained, shall depend on the due observance, in the kingdom of Ireland, of the several matters herein declared to be fundamental and essential conditions of the said settlement, according to the true intent, meaning, and spirit thereof.

Provided nevertheless, That all the said fundamental and essential conditions shall, in all times, be held and deemed to be, and to have been, duly observed in the kingdom of Ireland, unless it shall have been expressly declared, by an act of the Parliament of this kingdom, that the same have not been duly observed.

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